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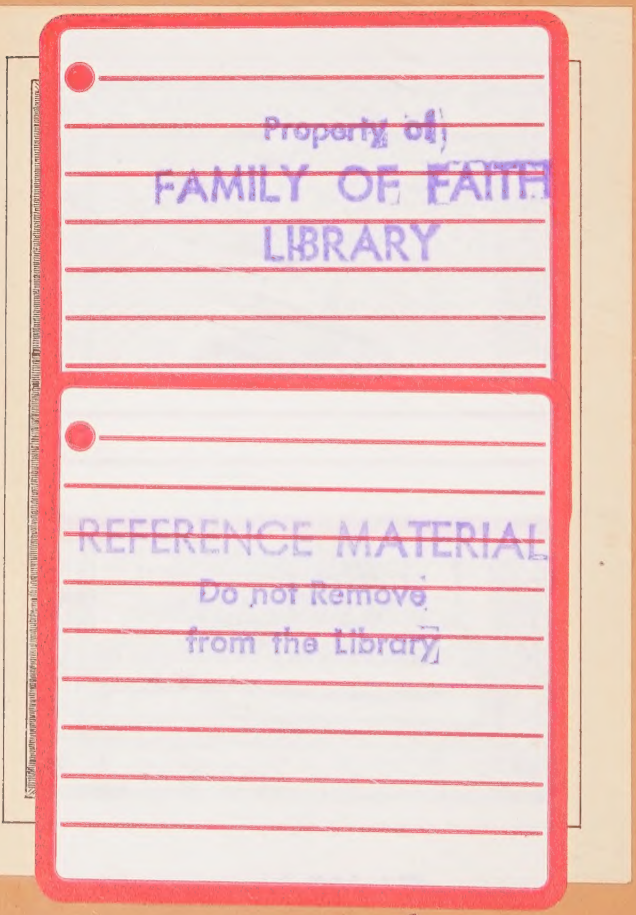

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THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH NATION

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO EPOCHS AND CRISES

A HISTORY OF AND FOR THE PEOPLE

BY
W. H. S. AUBREY, LL. D.

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. III. A. D. 1658–1895

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NEW YORK
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY
1901

Authorized Edition.

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A.D. 1658–1702.

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CHAPTER LIX.

A LOST CAUSE.

A.D. 1658–1660.

THE death of Cromwell had been preceded by another heavy and irreparable loss to the country. A year before, Admiral Blake ended an illustrious career. One of the finest portraitures of the many drawn by Clarendon is of this brave, honest, God-fearing Englishman, who did so much to maintain the national safety and to extend the national renown. He might have served for the original of the popular nautical hero, Tom Bowling. He was the first since the days of the Plantagenets to conduct an English fleet into the Mediterranean. In 1650, he blockaded in the Tagus, and then utterly routed, a number of vessels that Prince Rupert and his brother Maurice had assembled for a piratical raid. He coerced Portugal into neutrality by seizing her richly-laden fleet from Brazil. He compelled both Spain and France to accept his broad interpretation of the law of nations, and to stop a system of privateering by which the latter country had captured within twenty-one months five thousand tons of English shipping, and goods valued at half a million. But his chief fame is connected with his successful expeditions against Spain and Holland. The Dutch were jealous of the growing commercial power of England. From the early part of the century there had been complaints of the manner in which they treated its merchants and seamen trading to the East. The Colonial Series of State Papers contain many contemporary records on the subject. It is manifest that the object of the Dutch was to compel the English to relinquish their trade in the Spice Islands, so as to secure a monopoly of this remunerative traffic. So long before as 1623, the

country was stirred to angry protest by the massacre of certain Englishmen at Amboyna, after they had been repeatedly subjected to horrible tortures by water and fire by the Dutch. With his notorious pusillanimity, James I. refrained from exacting justice, nor was anything done during the next reign. But the people did not forget or forgive the alleged wrong; and Cromwell was determined to redress it. The attacks of Blake upon Dutch ships were, in part, reprisals for the old antagonism, and, in part, the assertion of a right to participate in the Eastern trade.

After several ineffectual attempts by the Dutch to contest the naval supremacy, they tried finally to assert it in a sea-fight off Dover, May 18, 1652. Admiral van Tromp was beaten by Blake, who captured forty of their merchant ships that Summer, cleared the Channel, sailed Northwards and dispersed the herring-fishery, and concluded his exploits by another successful naval engagement in September, in the Downs. A temporary reverse occurred in November off the Goodwin Sands, through Blake accepting battle with a fleet double his own in strength. Van Tromp sailed through the narrow seas in bravado, with a broom at his mast-head, in token that he had swept the Channel; but in the following February, a great battle waged for three days, and the Dutch were beaten off with a loss of seventeen ships and thirty merchantmen. The insult of the broom was avenged, and was never repeated. Three months later, Blake sent to Cromwell a despatch announcing a great naval victory off the North Foreland; eleven ships being sunk, and six others taken, with more than a thousand prisoners. Another engagement was fought, July 29, off the Holland coast, by Blake's subordinates, as he was incapacitated through illness; when van Tromp was killed, and the Dutch supremacy was finally broken. A treaty was effected, which embraced Holland, Denmark, the Hanse Towns, and the Swiss Protestant Cantons. England awoke to a consciousness of her advantageous insular position for maritime trade. The power then asserted has never been lost.

Two more naval engagements increased Blake's renown. He captured two richly-laden Spanish galleons

at Cadiz, in September, 1656, and in the following April waylaid their annual fleet from South America. It sought safety in the Canary Isles, under the shadow of the Peak of Teneriffe, in the harbour of Santa Cruz; but Blake dashed in, and captured the ships, with an immense booty; said to exceed a million sterling in value. It filled thirty-eight waggons, and excited intense enthusiasm on its triumphal way from Portsmouth to London. At the same time came news of Lima being swallowed up by an earthquake, with further immense loss to Spain; which was, of course, interpreted as a Divine judgment. Blake's achievement, comparable to Drake's spoil from his circumnavigation of the globe eighty years previously, increased the respect already inspired for the English flag on the high seas; but the victory was dearly won by Blake's death, just as his ship sighted land, August 17, 1057. His fame is immortal. He conducted the heroic defence of Taunton during the Civil War; for it was the custom to serve on sea or land. He contributed more than any other admiral before the days of Nelson to render England Mistress of the Seas. His courage and maritime skill were mingled with disinterested patriotism, sterling honesty, and love of justice. He not only gained an unquestioned superiority over the mightiest naval opponents of his country, but by his bold tactics and his able seamanship he infused into the Navy that intrepidity and enterprise by which it has ever since been distinguished.

In conformity with the powers entrusted to him by the Petition and Advice, Cromwell is said to have nominated his son Richard to succeed him as Lord Protector; but the letter of appointment could not be found. Richard was proclaimed; and for five months public affairs were outwardly tranquil. Then it became evident that his hands were not strong enough to hold the reins of government, or to control the turbulent spirits whom his father had kept in check. He was an amiable, accomplished, but somewhat indolent country gentleman; with no capacity for ruling, no special force of character, and no taste for public affairs; though he had been a member of Parliament and of the Upper House. Strictly speaking, he never possessed supreme

authority; for he was supplanted before acquiring it. He could not bend the bow of Ulysses. If he was timid, inert, and irresolute, he was also disinterested and patriotic. He did not use his high position for his own advantage, nor secure a competence prior to his own retirement, as he might have done. He quietly stepped aside, May 29, 1659, into the private life and the rural pursuits that he loved. The men who profited by his self-abnegation afterwards wrote of him as a milksop, a poor creature, a poltroon, and as Tumble-down Dick. In Dryden's trenchant satire of 'Absalom and Achitophel,' he stands for Ishbosheth; as his father is represented by Saul. Such epithets and such a characterization of Richard are wholly undeserved. True, he had not a scintilla of his father's genius, nor any of his firmness of purpose and resolute action; but he was by no means a fool or a coward. He fell, not for what he did, but from sheer lack of administrative ability to do what was needful at the right time. John Howe, who had been domestic chaplain to Oliver, writing to his friend Richard Baxter on May 21, in the midst of all the agitation and stress in London, vividly describes the circumstances, and places Richard's conduct in a noble light. When Howe lay dying, in 1705, the ex-Protector saw him, and the two old men took a solemn farewell. On his abdication, Richard went to his family estate at Hursley, Hants; afterwards the scene of John Keble's labours, author of 'The Christian Year'; but embarrassed finances, chiefly caused by having to meet the public funeral expenses of his father, which Parliament undertook to defray, compelled a withdrawal to the Continent. He resided for the most part in Paris until 1680, when he returned to England, and died at Cheshunt, in 1712, at the age of eighty-six. Dr. Isaac Watts, an intimate friend, says that only once did he allude to his former brief greatness, and then indirectly. His mother, the great Protector's widow, Elizabeth Bourchier, died October 8, 1672, at Narborough, near Market Deeping, in the house of her son-in-law, Claypole.

Henry Cromwell was detained in Ireland by his duties as Lord Deputy. He was a true son of his father; and his conduct and his letters show how bravely and skil-

fully he would have upheld the popular cause. When he reached London it was too late. Faction had done its work, and the mischief could not be remedied. He retired into Cambridgeshire, and died March 23, 1674, and was buried in Wicken Church. The remainder of the year 1659 witnessed repeated disputes between the Army Cabal and the Rump Parliament. The latter, to the number of ninety-one, had been re-instated on the second of May by Fleetwood, Lambert, and others of the Army Junto; after the collapse of a Parliament convened in January; the members having spent three months in heated disputes over the old questions of the status of the Other House, Government by a Single Person, Model Governments, and other visionary schemes. A number of self-seekers and disguised Royalists had secured election for obscure and rotten boroughs, which were, unfortunately, again allowed to send representatives. But the military dangers were the most ominous. The old patriotic sentiment of the citizen-soldiers in the early days of the Commonwealth had been weakened, if not supplanted, in a number of cases, by a selfish professional feeling; as dangerous to the public peace and safety as the conspiracies and intrigues of the armed cohorts of ancient Rome. Oliver Cromwell had learned, for good reasons, to dread the predominance of that martial force which, at an earlier period, proved a successful weapon when wielded by himself. A military dictatorship has always been perilous to States.

Milton's sightless eyes perceived the danger. Immediately after Cromwell's death, he issued another edition of his 'First Defence,' with a brief postscript. He addressed the Parliament, in February, in 'A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.' It was more than a plea for toleration. The existence of any State Church whatsoever was condemned. He sent forth in August another pamphlet:—'Considerations touching the Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church.' Age and adversity had not chilled the ardour of his love for freedom, or lessened his hatred of priestly intolerance of every form and creed. With all his admiration for Cromwell, the scheme of comprehension, however broad, was shown to be a delusion and a blunder;

impossible in itself, and opposed to the genius of Christianity. The late Protector, owing to the stress of circumstances, had failed to fulfil Milton's expectations, set forth in the glowing Sonnet to the "chief of men," with regard to the delivery of the Church from "hireling wolves," whether Episcopalian or Presbyterian. Milton felt bound to place his opinions on record once more; even if the effort was like that of the dying swan. In these trenchant tractates he strikes two-handed blows at the system of clerical force and clerical hire; of intolerance and patronage in matters of religion; out of which sprang many of the troubles of the Commonwealth. The warning and the protest were unheeded. In the seething tumult of human passions then waging, it would have been as easy to lull to rest the troubled sea. Moreover, Milton made the mistake, so common with men of profound thought and of earnest convictions, but sedentary and reflective habits and inexperienced in affairs, of supposing that all men are swayed by high principle and by reason, instead of being mainly the creatures of impulse and selfishness; of prejudice and habit; of circumstance and opportunity.

Once more the Rump was ejected by the Army, October 13, 1659, when a Committee of Safety, of twenty-three members, was nominated, in feeble imitation of Cromwell's procedure. The Rump was again restored December 26th. Nearly every week developed some new scheme. Each faction suspected and denounced the others. The Royalists were plotting for a Restoration. Messengers and letters in cipher passed to and from St. Germains, where Charles Stuart was living as a French pensioner. People wearied of the tyranny of the Army Officers, and also of the shadowy authority of the contemptible Rump. The immediate danger arose from threatened anarchy. Negotiations were secretly opened by the Stuart exiles with such as were supposed to favour a monarchical revival. Leading Presbyterians were tickled with vague promises of an ecclesiastical settlement in their favour. Honours, promotions, offices, and emoluments were held out to the Army, to aspiring lawyers, and to the clergy. There was no haggling over terms, which subsequent events showed a shameless pre-

determination to repudiate as soon as convenient, with the usual Stuart perfidy. The agents of Charles readily agreed to everything that was asked or suggested by a few, by way of securing Parliamentary government and freedom of Protestant worship. He was represented as willing to throw a veil of oblivion over the Past, and to rule in a strictly constitutional manner; and as occupying himself with anxious endeavours to promote the honour and happiness of his people and the spread of religion. In reality, he was spending his time, as he spent the greater part of his life, in frivolity, gambling, and debauchery. He possessed considerable natural talents, but was too indolent and pleasure-loving to use them. Buckingham said that he could do well if he would; while his brother James would do so if he could. Burnet records him as saying that Presbyterianism was a religion quite unfit for a gentleman.

One man is entitled to the crown of apostasy for his share in the Restoration. General Monk (1602-1670) had, first of all, deserted the Royalist cause and joined that of the Parliament. Though filling high commands in Ireland and in Scotland, Cromwell never trusted him. Cautious, taciturn, and self-seeking, he now sided with neither party, while secretly bargaining for himself with Charles. It was a question of title and of price; and he gained his point. On his dilatory march from Scotland, in January, 1660, at the head of seven thousand men, and with a well-stored military chest, he gave no sign of his ultimate intentions, but professed to be in favour of a free Parliament, to determine as to the future. Amidst the shoals of pamphlets then being issued on all sides, Milton, with a courage sublime in its audacity, published one in February, entitled, 'A Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth.' Its central idea was a membership for life of a permanent Council of the fittest men; with a smaller Council of State as an Executive; and an elected body for each county and large city or town to manage affairs strictly local. This presupposed virtues and a patriotism that did not exist. Yet, in asserting the superiority of a healthy civic life, and of what in modern phrase is termed Local Self-Government, over a centralized and bureaucratic system, Milton anti-

cipated the judgment of the wisest publicists and administrators of recent times. He sent a copy, with a letter, to Monk, who probably did not read them ; being too busy, feasting in the City, making things safe and pleasant there, and intriguing for his own position and emoluments.

Milton had previously issued, October 29, 1659, 'A Letter to a Friend concerning the Rupture of the Commonwealth' ; expressing indignation at the outrages of professional soldiers, and gloomy forebodings of the immediate future ; and propounding a scheme adapted to meet present exigencies. Once more, on the eve of the Restoration, true to his life-long principles, like his own Abdiel, "faithful found among the faithless ; faithful only he," Milton wrote a reply to a truculent Cavalier sermon, 'On the Fear of God and the King.' The insolent and venal Roger L'Estrange (1616–1704), a literary parasite, afterwards rewarded with the post of Licenser of the Press, made a vulgar and brutal rejoinder, under the title of 'No Blind Guides.' Another edition of the 'Ready and Easy Way,' with copious additions, was Milton's last controversial work. It appeared in April, 1660, while the elections for the Convention Parliament were proceeding ; and it bears a significant and daring motto, adapted from Juvenal : "We have addressed Sulla"—*i.e.*, Monk—"himself ; advise we now the people." Like Samson Agonistes, he stood alone ; foiled and disarmed, yet dauntless ; though his cherished cause was humbled, his ideals were shattered, his principles execrated, and his friends threatened with imprisonment, banishment, or death. He secreted himself for a time, and resumed the immortal works which he had repeatedly laid aside at the call of public duty ; thereby enriching and ennobling English literature.

After Monk's arrival in London, when all his plans were laid, and when terms were finally secured with Charles, he still declared himself in favour of retaining the Commonwealth : a verbal trick belied by his actions. A man of silence and of mystery, as inscrutable as the Sphinx, he would not yet openly commit himself to the royal cause. The Convention met on the twenty-fifth of April. Charles sent from Breda, whither he had gone for facility of departure for England, Declarations and

Addresses, to be used at the proper time; promising, "on the solemn word of a King," an amnesty for all offences, with certain exceptions; government by a free Parliament, which should inquire into all grants, purchases, and alienations; and the same rates of pay then enjoyed by soldiers, with the discharge of all arrears. One clause is significant, because of the barefaced manner in which it was violated:—"We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." These documents were made known in due course, by a pre-arranged theatrical scheme, after a majority in the new Parliament had been secured to declare in favour of a monarchy. An humble reply was ordered to be sent to Breda. Sir Matthew Hale, and a few other wise and experienced members, urged that certain necessary conditions should be imposed, so as to ensure ancient rights and liberties; but the reasonable precaution was clamoured down as unnecessary. The Presbyterians were chiefly responsible; and they were made to pay a terrible penalty. The mistake was not repeated twenty-eight years later; for the Declaration of Rights was presented to and accepted by William of Orange before an offer of the Crown was made. In the case of Charles II., the unthinking crowd was delirious with expectancy of a vague something to accrue from a Happy and Glorious Restoration; with all the other Court rhetoric and hollow pomp.

With the letter sent to Charles was voted, what he valued much more, a present of fifty thousand pounds, and large sums to his impecunious brothers and courtiers, who were delighted at the unexpected turn of fortune, and at the prospect of more money. Milliners, jewellers, tailors, mercers, wig makers, upholsterers, decorators, portrait-painters, orators, poets, fiddlers, actors, and other persons skilled in fashioning Court baubles, in torturing language into the garb of abject adulation and flattery, and in arranging Court histrionics and empty pageants, were instantly set to work; regardless of cost. Charles was proclaimed, May 8, 1660, on the assumption that his reign had begun in 1649. A flood-tide of verbal and

hollow loyalty set in for awhile. The reasons lie on the surface. Tacitus remarks that it is more easy to praise a Republican reform of government than to establish one; and, when established, it cannot be of long duration. There was no one, like Cromwell, with the capacity to rule; nor was the country prepared for the Reign of the Saints. It was vainly hoped that Charles II. had learned salutary lessons in the school of adversity. The event showed that, like all the members of his luckless and graceless family, he acquired no wisdom. Immediate perils had to be avoided, and escape was thought to be possible only by the way of monarchy. A panic-stricken people, like a flock of sheep, never stops to reason. Before a generation had passed away, it was found that Stuart imbecility, corruption, falsehood, and tyranny were incurable; and the hated race was again and finally driven from the throne its members had disgraced, and from the land they had brought to the verge of ruin. But the men of the Commonwealth, it must be repeated, were fully vindicated in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. They for ever shattered the old idea of monarchical power in England, notwithstanding its temporary revival; and that at a time when the same power was bearing down all opposition in other European countries.

CHAPTER LX.

THE STUART RESTORATION.

A.D. 1660–1666.

The fable of the Stork and the Frogs aptly represents the condition of affairs in England at the Restoration. Macaulay's scornful delineation of the mean spirit and the degraded manners of the time is fully corroborated by contemporary records. Charles II. and his seraglio, with an expectant and hungry crowd of courtiers—the Corydons and Foppingtons, the Phrynes and Moll Flanders of that debauched age—landed at Dover, May 25, 1660. A whole people, with few exceptions,

grovelled at the feet of an easy-tempered libertine, causing him to express surprise that he had not returned long before; "for I find nobody who does not tell me he has always longed for my return." Samuel Pepys (1632–1703), who was present, records that the mayor gave a Bible to Charles, who took it with an avowal that it was what he loved above all things in the world. The progress to London was an unbroken series of carousings, junketings, the bellowing of ultra-loyalist songs, uproarious drinking on the knees of the King's health, trumpet-blowing, bell-ringing, cannon-firing, banners, bands, and decorations; with addresses in the customary sycophantic phraseology, and gracious replies that meant nothing. The assembly known as the Convention, then sitting at Westminster, was henceforth to be called a Parliament. Tunnage and Poundage were granted to the King for life; heedless of the disputes on this very point between his father and previous Legislatures. The royal revenue was voted at twelve hundred thousand pounds annually; being one-third more than was considered necessary for Charles I.

An Act of Indemnity was passed, after much disputation; excepting from its provisions, however, most of the judges of the late Monarch—in defiance of a Proclamation of pardon to those who surrendered—and all who had converted to their own use property alleged to belong to the Church. The Restoration was inaugurated by a butchery of ten of the so called Regicides. After a perfunctory trial they were hanged and quartered; avowing to the last a conviction that what they had done was right. As Harrison, one of Cromwell's Major-Generals, was being drawn on a hurdle to the gallows, a bystander asked, in derision, where was the good old cause? Smiling, he struck his breast, and replied,—"Here it is; and I am going to seal it with my blood." He was regarded as a martyr by the Fifth-Monarchists; who believed that he would rise again, judge his judges, and restore the Kingdom of the Saints. Cowley refers to this in 'The Cutter of Coleman-street.' Sir Harry Vane, who had opposed the execution of Charles I., and incurred the displeasure of Cromwell and the Army leaders because of his stern Republicanism, was kept in

prison for two years, and was then beheaded, though the King and the Commons had expressly promised exemption. "He is too dangerous a man to let live, if we can safely put him out of the way," wrote Charles. Vane met his doom like a Stoic. His last words were silenced by the drums of the soldiers. Henry Marten was incarcerated for twenty years in Chepstow Castle, and died there. Twenty-two others lingered out their lives in prison; and a score who escaped capture were tracked to the Continent and to America by Royalist bullies, and most of them were assassinated or brought home and executed. The property of every member of the High Court, living or dead, was confiscated. By a special order of the two Houses, on January 30, 1661, the remains of Cromwell—or what were supposed to be his—were exhumed from Westminster Abbey, with those of Bradshaw, Ireton, Pym, Admirals Blake and Popham, Thomas May, the historian of the Long Parliament, Stephen Marshall, the Puritan divine, Isaac Dorislaus, the learned Dutchman, and of the Protector's mother and daughter. Some of these relics of the dead were hung and beheaded at Tyburn; the rest were flung into a pit in St. Margaret's Churchyard. Court ladies witnessed the revolting sights, and laughed at the ribald jokes made by Court witlings.

Ecclesiastical troubles arose immediately. Within six weeks of the landing at Dover, the remaining peers having re-assembled, the two Houses discussed the subject of religion. The Presbyterians were numerous and influential in London, and they looked for comprehension. For a short time they were encouraged to hope; but nothing was conceded; and it is impossible to avoid the conclusion, judging from subsequent events, that nothing was meant to be conceded. Nor did any practical results follow repeated conferences in Sion College, and in Worcester House, Strand, during the latter part of 1660, between the King, Clarendon, and certain peers and bishops on the one side, and a few leading Presbyterian clergymen on the other. At one of the meetings, Clarendon read the draft of a Declaration of Indulgence which the King proposed to issue; that other persons, meaning Romanists, should be permitted to meet for worship, provided they did not disturb the public

peace. It was a trap, into which Baxter's eagerness for disputation, and his hatred for Popery and Socinianism, led him to fall. He resolutely opposed the plan. Charles was annoyed; the courtiers were startled; but the bishops were triumphant. The very thing which they desired had been said; yet they had avoided the odium of saying it. A Healing Declaration appeared, October 25, 1660, promising a revision of the Liturgy and of ceremonies; and urging all parties meanwhile to live in peace. It was of no force in law; and an attempt to embody it in an Act of Parliament failed. But the object was achieved of lulling the Presbyterians into false security until such time as the storm, then in secret preparation, was ready to break.

The nine surviving prelates had resumed their titles, as a matter of course; with a fixed resolve to seize upon their emoluments, which had been alienated or sold; to assert the unbroken existence of the old Episcopacy; and to thrust out all who had been inducted to clerical offices during the Interregnum, unless episcopally ordained. Burnet (1643-1715), Bishop of Salisbury, says, that the fines on the renewal of the leases of Church estates, after the interval of nearly twenty years, amounted to a million and a half; equal to at least six or seven millions of modern money. The whole of this vast sum was appropriated by the restored prelates and other dignitaries; who, as usual, took care of themselves and their families; regardless of the Church and the nation. The State Papers of 1660 contain numerous letters from clergymen asking to be restored to their benefices or to be given higher preferments. Pepys records, March 20, 1661,—"Indeed, the bishops are so high, that very few do love them." The restoration of a secularized and autocratic episcopate gave just offence to many who had no objection to prelates in their legitimate capacity. But, ever since the Reformation, they had been left independent of their clergy, and were empowered to rule without reference to Synods. While the Presbyterians were thus being toyed with, in the vain hope of a reformation in ceremonies, Orders in Council were issued, commanding justices to see that the public use of the Liturgy was restored. Numbers of clergymen were ejected and imprisoned by

this procedure, but not for intellectual or moral obliquity, more than two years before the new Act of Uniformity. In a few cases the local authorities connived or winked at evasion of the order. Clarendon told Parliament that the King—whose time was notoriously spent with gamblers, ribalds, and profligates, in mad and wasteful revelry—was "busying himself, like a second Constantine, with learned and pious men, for the settlement of the languishing Church." A partial attempt was made to placate some of the leading Presbyterians; which only serves to deepen the disgrace of their subsequent treatment. Besides ten who were appointed royal chaplains, several were offered deaneries, and five bishoprics were reserved for their party. Baxter was nominated for that of Hereford. Reynolds consented to fill the See of Norwich. Calamy was offered Lichfield, but his Presbyterianism was too pronounced. Some of their brethren displayed their loyalty in extravagant fashion; by preaching eulogistic and ecstatic sermons on the coronation.

The spirit of intolerance was directed in a marked and cruel manner against the Society of Friends, whose doctrines were unpalatable to the men in power, and especially to ruling ecclesiastics. Undeserved reproach was cast upon Quakers by the extravagance and absurdity, and what was called the blasphemy of another sect, known as Muggletonians; the leaders of which set up for the two Last Witnesses, and claimed absolute power to extend salvation or damnation to whom they pleased. Their teaching was an extraordinary farrago of mysticism, anthropomorphism, and grotesque allegorical interpretations of Scripture. Early in 1661, an engine was forged against the Quakers by an Act providing that any persons refusing to take the prescribed Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, or asserting their unlawfulness, should be fined or imprisoned; and for a third offence should abjure the realm or be transported to the Plantations. Similar penalties were incurred by attending unauthorized meetings for worship. The 'History of the People called Quakers,' by Sewell, the 'Journal' of Fox, the 'Minutes of the Committee for Sufferings,' the biographies of Robert Barclay and William Penn, Besse's 'Sufferings of the Quakers,'

the 'Letters' of Steven Crisp of Colchester (1628–1692), and many similar works, contain harrowing descriptions of the wrongs committed; while they also reveal the struggles, the endurance, and the fidelity of the victims, and the labours and sacrifices they underwent in propagating their views. Juries were packed; witnesses were suborned or browbeaten; the accused were denied the common rights of Englishmen; and the judges were bent on securing convictions; even though the law was strained and equity was outraged. A list was drawn up in 1662, and signed by twelve trustworthy persons, of four thousand two hundred Quakers then in prison, for refusing to take oaths, or for privately meeting for worship. Both sexes were often thrust together into damp and unwholesome cells; in some cases in such numbers that they could not lie down. Many were scourged, and not a few perished through their sufferings.

Fox underwent an imprisonment of nearly three years' duration, first in Lancaster, and then in Scarborough Castle, under circumstances of brutal severity. The gaols became in a less degree places of punishment for criminals, than receptacles for what was noblest and bravest in the manhood and womanhood of England. Among the many public services rendered by the early Friends, that of compelling attention to the state of the common gaols must not be overlooked; even if a remedy was not devised until the time of John Howard, and only partially applied after his terrible exposures. There were, however, few instances of defection or of cowardice amidst the pitiless storm of persecution. Their enemies wondered at the nobility, the disinterestedness, and the sincerity of their conduct. Admitting no weapon but the tongue, it must be admitted that some of them used it unsparingly, and with exasperating effect; going to the "steeple-houses" to testify against or to interrogate the clergyman; refusing to leave at the close of the service, "because they had not liberty in their minds to depart"; puzzling sapient Justice Shallows by urging that when they sat in silence in their own meetings, the Spirit not moving them to speak, this could not be prohibited as a religious exercise; and insisting, when gaolers were ordered to carry them to prison, that this literally meant

that they should not walk there. Fox records, among many pathetic recitals, several droll instances of the kind. On one occasion, when the oath was vexatiously tendered, he asked for a Bible, and, holding it up, said, "This book commands me not to swear"; whereupon it was snatched away, and he was hurried to prison. By their method of passive resistance to laws which they could not conscientiously obey, and which no man respecting himself and fearing God could be expected to obey, the Quakers rendered a patriotic service which has never been sufficiently recognised.

The mild, pleasant, neatly-dressed, educated, modern Friends present a marked contrast in bearing to their early members; many of whom were coarse, obtrusive, and disputatious. Peace and quietness did not distinguish them. They loudly protested against formalism and officialism in religion, and appeared as persistent brawlers in churches; interrupting the preachers; challenging their statements; putting inconvenient questions at unseasonable times; and protesting against what they held to be errors and mistakes. To the official mind, all this was insufferable, and their extravagances and indiscretions furnished a pretext for intolerance. They were stigmatized as contemners of authority; as opponents of the Government; as ignorant fools, and dangerous fanatics. Even their refusal to take off the hat in token of respect; to use the plural pronoun when addressing a single person; to utter customary salutations; or to speak of the days of the week and the month, were twisted into grave offences; just as their conscientious objection to take oaths involved them for many years in severe pains and penalties. After making every deduction for early excess of zeal and for questionable methods, it is a pleasant duty to concur in the opinion of competent judges as to the noble and self-denying labours of this excellent body in the cause of education, benevolence, and humanity. Few persons have any conception of the extensive and valuable contributions to literature, as shown in the descriptive catalogue of Friends' books, compiled by Joseph Smith.

The Baptists, also, who have been designated the High

Ritualists of Dissent, were harshly treated; and furnished numerous inmates to the prisons. They were veritable Ishmaels; in the sense that the hand of every man was against them. In one of their petitions to the King, they said,—"They call us 'peace-breakers'; when, in the sincerity of our hearts, we peaceably meet to worship God. We have been much abused as we passed the streets and as we sat in our houses; being threatened to be hanged, if only heard praying in our families. We have been stoned when going to our meetings; the windows have been broken down; we have been taken as evil-doers, and imprisoned, and represented under the odious terms of knavish, juggling, impudent, and fanatic fellows." Such abominable proceedings furnished lucrative employment to an infamous class of spies and informers. In the 'Somers Tracts' is one which gives a vivid description of some of these execrable wretches in Devonshire. They were the scum of the country. Their language and conduct were revolting, especially towards women and girls. They were addicted to conspiracy and perjury in order to procure convictions, and so obtain the reward of their iniquity. The justices connived at their proceedings and screened them from the consequences of illegal acts.

With the professed object of arriving at grounds of settlement in church affairs, conferences were begun on April 15, 1661, between twenty-one leading Episcopalians, mostly prelates, and the same number of eminent Presbyterian clergymen, in the Savoy Palace in the Strand; of which Gilbert Sheldon (1598–1677) was Master, in addition to being Bishop of London. Independents and Baptists were not represented; though, in the irony of events, the former had met in the same building, thirty-one months before, and drawn up their Confession of Faith and Order. The Presbyterians, named in equal terms in the Royal Commission, claimed, as it set forth, to advise and consult with the Bishops; who, however, maintained that they sat as judges to hear and determine objections to the Prayer Book; which they demanded in a written form. Baxter, with all his keenness as a metaphysician, was so ignorant of men and of affairs as to induce his colleagues to concede a point that opened up such a

boundless vista for his skill in casuistry. The real design of the prelates was to discover the demands in the way of Church reform in order to refuse them; as appeared from the simultaneous action of Convocation, and as was afterwards shamelessly avowed by Sheldon. It was a repetition of the Hampton Court Conference of 1604; and the secret purpose was the same. The prelates did not desire reconciliation or comprehension; and it must be owned that the Presbyterians failed to exhibit the wisdom of the serpent. They would have been content with the adoption of Ussher's scheme of modified Episcopacy; but every concession was peremptorily refused.

Sheldon was the main instigator and contriver of the policy that drove the Presbyterians forth from the Church. He openly declared,—"Now we know their minds, we will have matters so fixed that not one shall be able to keep his living." They were to be driven into Nonconformity; and this was made criminal. The Savoy Conference ended in the middle of July. Convocation, in which none were allowed to sit who had not been episcopally ordained, was simultaneously busy devising new gags and fetters, so as to render clerical subscription more stringent. Nearly six hundred alterations were introduced into the Book of Common Prayer; mostly suggested by Cosin (1594–1672), Bishop of Durham, the greatest living authority on Liturgies. Many of the changes were verbal, petty, and irritating; avowedly to render the Prayer Book yet more objectionable to the Presbyterians. An opportunity was afforded to undo the mischief and the wrong of previous Acts of Uniformity, and to heal the wound that had been open since the Reformation; so as to unite the two great parties who had opposed and vexed each other for a century, and to secure a comprehensive and truly National Church; but the opportunity was deliberately thrust aside, as had been done on former occasions, and as was to be the case once more, and for the last time, under William III. No attempts were made to reform scandalous abuses, or to meet the altered condition of affairs. The ancient system was revived, with all its hoary iniquities. The course taken by Convocation was an expiring effort to set in motion the old and hated ecclesiastical machinery.

The new Parliament which met on May 8, 1661, paved the way for reaction. The utmost pains had been taken by the Court and the clergy to influence the elections, by the customary methods of cajoling, bribing, or intimidating the voters. The Presbyterians seem to have been cowed and despondent. They mustered only about fifty. The small and corrupt boroughs returned a majority of the members; men who knew nothing of the Stuart tyranny, but whose families had smarted under the Commonwealth. From the fact that many of them received salaries for sinecure offices at Court, or accepted gifts from the royal purse, the assembly, which lasted, with frequent prorogations, for nearly eighteen years, earned the disreputable title of the Pensionary Parliament; in like manner as the one that met in Edinburgh in January was called the Drunken Parliament, because, as Burnet says, the members were perpetually inebriated. The initial act was to order all the members, including profligates, blasphemers, and atheists, of all of whom there was an exceptional number, to partake of the Sacrament according to the Episcopal form; under pain of exclusion. The Solemn League and Covenant, the Act appointing the judges of Charles I., and all the Acts constituting the Commonwealth, were burned by the hangman. The Ecclesiastical Courts were restored. Legislative power was declared to reside in neither House, nor in both united, without the King. Whoever affirmed the contrary was to be liable to the penalties of Præmunire. The slavish doctrine of non-resistance to regal authority was taught without any qualification. Even Dr. Robert South (1633–1716), who, as a young Bachelor of Arts, when it was the fashion to eulogize Cromwell, had composed a Latin poem in his honour, now preached Passive Obedience without reserve, as may be seen in his published sermons. He so far forgot himself as to descend to vulgar abuse of the Protector, in a discourse before a crowded congregation of courtiers and people of fashion in Westminster Abbey. His sermons are distinguished for vigour of thought, and still more for their racy style. The vituperative rhetoric which he poured on the heads of the Puritans gave keen delight to his royal and courtly auditory.

Before the close of 1661, the Corporation Act was passed; to compel every member and officer of municipalities not only to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, but to swear that it was not lawful under any pretence whatever to take arms against the King. The Solemn League and Covenant was to be abjured, and all persons were declared ineligible for any corporate office who had not within a year received the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. The measure was aimed at the strongholds of the Presbyterians in the boroughs, and was enforced with rigour by commissioners specially appointed. Every functionary was required, ere long, under this and similar Statutes, to take sundry oaths and to subscribe various declarations of implicit belief in an elaborate series of dogmatic statements concerning abstruse theological, speculative, and psychological matters, such as human reason can never understand; still less explain or determine. In attestation of all this, and to qualify themselves for their official duties as lawgivers or administrators; as Privy Councillors, judges, or magistrates; as soldiers or sailors; as mayors or parish constables; as Excisemen or beadles, they had to bring certificates of having duly partaken of the Sacrament. This blasphemous travesty, stigmatized by Cowper as "an office key; a picklock to a place," was continued for more than a century and a half. By another Act of the same Session, it was declared that the sole authority over the Militia rested in the King. All lords-lieutenant, justices, officers, and private soldiers were required to subscribe the oath that it was unlawful under any circumstances to bear arms against him. The right of petition was restricted; and more stringent laws were enacted against printers. In these ways the usual machinery of political reaction was set in motion; as in the latter portion of George the Third's reign; and as in recent times on the Continent of Europe.

Meanwhile, the new Act of Uniformity was being secretly prepared. For this insensate course, pre-doomed to ignominious failure, the responsibility rests, partly with Clarendon, but chiefly with Sheldon; a fierce, narrow, scheming prelate of the Whitgift and Laud type; with the air of an episcopal police-constable.

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Burnet says,—"He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion; if any at all; and spoke of it most commonly as an engine of government and a matter of policy." The Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain, and himself a Presbyterian, told the King, while the Bill was being debated, that its terms were so rigid he was afraid many of the clergy would not comply. Sheldon rejoined,—"I am afraid they will. Now we know their minds, we will make them all knaves if they conform." After the Act was in operation, he said, in reply to an expression of regret that the door was so strait as to prevent many sober ministers from gaining admission,—"It is no pity at all. If we had thought so many of them would conform, we would have made it straiter." He pressed the measure through the Legislature, as he had supervised the Prayer Book in Convocation, so as to render both as obnoxious as possible to the Presbyterians. The Bill, first introduced June 29, 1661, provoked much resistance. The debates were prolonged and vehement. The fires of religious strife, like Nebuchadnezzar's furnace, were seven times heated. The Bill was sent up to the Lords on the tenth of July, but lay untouched for five months, because the revision of the Prayer Book was not completed. After the prorogation, the Lords took up the measure on January 14, 1662, but progress was slow, owing to the resistance of the few Presbyterian noblemen to some of the more drastic provisions. The majority were obstinate; being determined to end the strife that had so long waged within the Church.

The numerous changes made in the Bill were sent down to the Commons, who had really passed a dummy measure. They adopted the new clauses, and added some of their own, extending the scope of the Bill, and increasing its harshness. They struck out a proposal to allow one-fifth of the income to ejected incumbents; as had been the case under the Long Parliament. Not until May 19 was the measure ready for the royal assent. It prescribed that every minister, before St. Bartholomew's-day, August 24, "shall openly, publicly, and solemnly read the Morning and Evening prayers in the Prayer Book, and shall openly and publicly, after a prescribed form, declare his unfeigned assent and consent

to the use of all things in the said Book" ; which was affixed to and became part of the Act, on the established principle that the national faith and worship must be defined and enforced by the Legislature. Default was to be followed by deprivation. For the first time, ministerial orders not episcopally conferred were declared invalid. The Act provided that all clergymen, heads and tutors of colleges, and schoolmasters "shall subscribe a declaration that it is not lawful under any circumstances to take up arms against the King ; that they will conform to the Liturgy ; and that the Solemn League and Covenant, being an unlawful oath, has no obligation." Fine or three months' imprisonment was the penalty for disobedience to this drastic measure ; one incidental evil of which was that it isolated the clergy into a separate class, as of old, and fostered a theory that their Order is exclusive and mysterious. The stringent terms of subscription were maintained until 1865 ; when a verbal modification was enacted, to the effect that the doctrine set forth in the Prayer Book, and not all and everything therein contained, is agreeable to the Word of God. Hitherto, the Universities had extended a welcome to all comers ; but they now became sectarian ; for rigid tests were enforced until 1871.

Three anxious months were spent between the time of the passing of the Act and its coming into force. Burnet was told by some of the bishops that many clergymen subscribed on trust. John Locke declares that the new Prayer Book was so tardily printed that not one in forty of the men who assented could have seen it. He did not agree with the theology of the Puritans ; and to his calm and logical mind their fervour, and lengethened sermons, and tedious extemporaneous prayers were distasteful ; but he says,—"Bartholomew Day was fatal to our Church and religion, in throwing out a very great number of worthy, learned, pious, and orthodox divines." Some conformed, just as Reynolds retained his bishopric, and it is not for moderns to judge them. The time fixed was with a view to prevent the recovery of tithes for the ecclesiastical year then expiring. It is commonly said, though without adequate proof, that two thousand clergymen, or about one-fifth of the entire body, resigned

their preferments rather than take an oath and make a declaration alien to their convictions. The largest number were in London, the Eastern Counties, Yorkshire, and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Samuel Palmer, in his 'Nonconformist Memorial,' based upon Calamy's 'Account,' gives the names of two thousand two hundred and fifty; but he includes those who were ejected immediately after the Restoration, and some who on conscientious grounds were unable to accept livings. A fierce controversy has waged ever since over the actual number. Apologists have sought to minimise it; but the infamy of the Act is unaffected by the question of a few hundred victims more or less.

Among those ejected at the time or since the Restoration were such illustrious men and theological Titans as Dr. John Owen, whose great doctrinal treatises and polemical writings are monuments of erudition; the profound Dr. Thomas Goodwin; the seraphic John Howe, from whom Robert Hall said that he had learned more than from any other author; the silver-tongued Dr. William Bates, whose farewell sermons at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West are described by Pepys; Joseph Caryl, the commentator on Job; Matthew Poole, author of the 'Annotations' and of the 'Synopsis Criticorum'; Dr. Lazarus Seaman, the Orientalist; and Theophilus Gale, the learned author of 'The Court of the Gentiles,' suggested by a hint in 'De Veritate,' by Grotius. Other honoured names were Dr. Thomas Manton; Stephen Charnock; Richard Baxter; Dr. William Spurstowe, one of the authors of 'Smectymnuus'; William Bridge, of Yarmouth, and Philip Nye, two of the five Dissenting Brethren in the Westminster Assembly; John Wesley's paternal grandfather, of the same name, and his maternal grandfather, Dr. Samuel Annesley; Philip Henry, father of the commentator; and distinguished groups like John Flavel, David Clarkson, and Thomas Doolittle; Edmund Calamy, father and son; Thomas and Nathaniel Vincent; Joseph Alleyne, author of 'Alarm to Unconverted Sinners,' Oliver Heywood, and Henry Newcome. In point of moral character, mental endowments, solid learning, University position, pulpit ability, and social standing, they had few equals, and no superiors.

No difficulty was experienced in filling the vacated places. Men in abundance were found ready to take upon themselves the priest's office for the sake of its emoluments. Burnet declares that they were mean and despicable in all respects ; the worst preachers he ever heard ; ignorant to a reproach ; many of them openly vicious, a disgrace to their order, and the dregs of society. John Oldham (1653–1683), who, in the opinion of Hallam, "is far superior in his satires to Marvell, and ranks perhaps next to Dryden," who eulogized him in terms of affectionate admiration, has left an unflattering portrait of a nobleman's chaplain, which stands for a numerous class. The accuracy of Macaulay's famous delineation has been angrily challenged, but not disproved ; even by Gladstone's able and well-known criticism. The Act has not secured uniformity ; any more than was the case with two previous measures in the time of Edward VI., and the one under Elizabeth. One effect of what Archdeacon Hare calls "this most disastrous, most tyrannical, and schismatical Act" was to doom the ministry to intellectual barrenness and spiritual lethargy for nearly two centuries. As an ecclesiastical Establishment it ceased to be national. Formalism, immobility, exclusiveness, and narrowness were enshrined. All power of expansion, of adaptation, and of self-government was surrendered. Vital religion was almost extinguished. In many country parishes the lamp of God went out. With rare exceptions, down to a comparatively recent period, the English Church contributed no original and productive thought to the great domains of religious literature, of philosophy, of science, or of ecclesiastical history, from the time of Jeremy Taylor and of Isaac Barrow ; the first of whom died in 1667, and the second ten years later. The mental and moral torpor that followed upon the last futile attempt to enforce an outward uniformity, and that reacted upon other religious bodies, is shown in the sixty-seventh and sixty-eighth Chapters. Dr. John Stoughton gives an able sketch of the theological writers of the period in his 'Church of the Restoration.'

From the Ejectment of 1662 may be dated the separation of the English people into two camps of Conformists and Nonconformists ; in a sense more marked and dis-

tinct than before. The great Puritan party, which had taken so prominent a share in the work of the Church, was sternly and finally driven out. An end was put to the attempts made since the Reformation by Cranmer, Latimer, Jewel, Hooper, Ridley, and other Fathers of the Church of England, to complete the work then initiated, and to effect an intimate relationship with the Reformed Churches of the Continent. It was now decided that England should stand aloof from Christendom. She had broken with the Papacy. She was henceforth to be detached from all other non-Episcopal Protestant communions. It was a fatal policy, which recoiled upon herself, upon the nation, and upon religion. The ejected clergy regarded themselves as the true representatives of the Protestant Reformed Church of England; but wrongfully and illegally thrust outside its pale; as was the case with those who left the Kirk of Scotland at the Disruption in 1843. They were compelled by the force of circumstances, like the Puritan settlers in Massachusetts, to take up, under protest and most unwillingly, the ground of the despised and persecuted Separatists, who, for more than a century, had borne their testimony. The unintended effect upon national religious thought and upon popular liberties has been incalculable, in promulgating the Divine idea of freedom, and in strengthening the moral fibre of the English race.

At the same time, it is impossible not to regret the spirit of isolation, of suspicion, and, sometimes, of antagonism forced upon the great body of Nonconformists by their persistent exclusion for nearly two hundred years from the national seats of learning, and from civic offices to which their character, attainments, and position entitled them. Nor is a word of excuse to be found for the manner in which they were treated by intolerant ecclesiastics—often their inferiors in piety, in learning, and in diligence—as if they had been unworthy of citizenship and outcasts from society and from the pale of religion. When the prejudices, the narrowness, the sectarianism, and the bitterness of Nonconformists are held up to reproach, it is only just to remember that, in so far as the charge is true, it is mainly owing to the treatment experienced at the hands of a bigoted priesthood; aided by

unscrupulous, time-serving politicians, who sacrificed the great future of England for the sake of a temporary triumph. It is easy to bring a charge of schism ; but it is a two-edged weapon, without a handle, and is apt to maim the hand that uses it. Episcopalians who so regard Nonconformists, are themselves stigmatized as schismatics by Rome, which refuses to admit the validity of their ministerial orders. Justice may not always approve of Nonconformist policy, and taste may object to some utterances. The lack of sweetness and light may provoke a sneer ; and nothing is more common than to regard exceptional instances of prejudice, narrowness, and fanaticism as typical and universal ; like the rigid Covenant of the Independent Church in Cambridge, in 1696, which continued to be enforced for about half a century. The members mutually agreed not to go to "any human worship, or worship corrupted with the superstitions and inventions of men" ; which must be understood as referring especially, if not exclusively, to Episcopalian churches. No member was to marry "without first desiring the prayers of the Church therein." The penalty was excommunication. The motive, undoubtedly, was good, but this was carrying to an extreme the idea of separation. Such a spirit, however deplorable and censurable, is not confined to one party, or creed. Contempt for the opinions of others ; jealousy of every difference of religious sentiment ; the disposition to arrogate a monopoly of truth ; and a suspicion of every one else as acting under the shackles of bigotry or the mask of hypocrisy, are not peculiar to any class, or dogma, or community. There is no prejudice so strong as that which arises from a fancied exemption from all prejudice.

Charles had promised the Presbyterian ministers of London, who formed a majority of its beneficed clergy, that he would suspend the operations of the measure. Clarendon and Sheldon strenuously opposed a course that was really beyond the King's power ; because unconstitutional. Not that he cared for the opinions or the wrongs of the Presbyterians ; but he wished to favour the Roman Catholics, and he could not do so alone, or avowedly. However, he issued a Declaration

the day after Christmas, that he would invite the Legislature to concur in an Act to enable him to exercise a dispensing power on behalf of peaceable persons who could not conform. Parliament met, February 18, 1663, and much alarm was expressed when a Bill to effect this was introduced by the King's friends. It was opposed by his Chancellor, Clarendon, and by the bishops; and had to be dropped. A similar fate befell renewed attempts in subsequent years. During the Session of 1664, Parliament repealed with indecent haste, on an open threat from the Court, the Triennial Act of 1641; which Charles had the effrontery to declare he should disregard, even if it remained on the Statute Book. It was re-enacted after the Revolution. Then the congenial work of hunting Sectaries was resumed. The Conventicle Act was passed, with but little debate; extending the measure of the same kind adopted under Elizabeth, by which Recusants were to be imprisoned for not attending their parish churches. Not more than five persons above sixteen years of age, besides the household, might be present at any meetings for worship other than those prescribed by the Act of Uniformity; under penalty of fine or imprisonment, with transportation or slavery for a third offence; return to England being felony. Noblemen incurred double penalties. All such assemblies were to be dispersed by force of arms; the leaders arrested; and the owners of the building made liable to similar pains and penalties. The Act was to be in force for three years. It was renewed in 1667, and again in 1670, with stringent additions. The whole bench of Bishops, with the two exceptions of Wilkins of Chester and Rainbow of Carlisle, voted for this inhuman Act, which was enforced with rigour, to the utter ruin of many families. Virginia and New England were expressly exempted as places of exile, to prevent the victims from receiving help from sympathising friends. After 1688, the measure fell into desuetude.

Baxter says that some, who had been loudest in advising their ministers to go to prison rather than submit to the Act of Uniformity, would not act upon the advice when the sword was turned against themselves by the Conventicle Act. John Bunyan, in his immortal work,

depicts Lord Turnabout, Lord Timeserver, Mr. Anything, Mr. Worldly-Wiseman, and the rest; all of whom were drawn from the originals of the trimmers of his day. His 'Life and Death of Mr. Badman,' is a vivid and faithful portraiture of a vulgar, unprincipled tradesman in a provincial town. The usual style of indictment may be gathered from the one preferred against Bunyan: —"That he hath devilishly and perniciously abstained from coming to church to hear Divine service, and is a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the great disturbance and distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom; contrary to the laws of our sovereign lord the King." The description given by the Immortal Dreamer of the trial of Faithful in Vanity Fair, is a keen satire upon the parodies of justice which constantly took place at the time:—"They brought them forth to their trial in order to their condemnation." Bunyan draws a truthful and a graphic picture of the odious mummeries in the name of law. Not a single detail is forced or lacking.

Clarendon applauds the Act, and says it would have ensured thorough uniformity if it had been vigorously executed. There was, however, no lack of vigour. Search-warrants were readily granted by bigoted justices, and executed by brutal emissaries. Hundreds of persons were driven along the roads like cattle; sometimes in chains; sometimes tied to the troopers' horses, which were kept at a trot. The gaols were crowded, especially with Quakers, who would not resort even to a venial subterfuge in order to escape. Pepys, under date of August 1, 1664, makes this entry,—"I saw several poor creatures carried by, by constables, for being at a Conventicle. They go like lambs, without any resistance. I would to God they would either conform, or be more wise, and not be catched." On September 4, 1668, he witnessed Ben Jonson's 'Bartholomew Fair,' which he describes as "an excellent play; the more I see it, the more I love the wit of it; only the business of abusing the Puritans begins to grow stale and of no use; they being the people that at the last will grow the wisest." At another time, May 14, 1669 he records how, in Lambeth Palace, in the presence of Sheldon, "one

Cornet Bolton did pray and preach like a Presbyter Scot, with all the possible imitation in grimaces and voice . . . till it made us all burst."

Towards the close of the year 1664, the dreaded Plague once more broke out in London. There had been three great attacks within living memory, besides many local cases. With the Summer heat of 1665 the mortality rapidly rose. In the first and third weeks of September, nearly eight thousand three hundred died; so far as the Bills of Mortality extended. The total deaths within that year were nearly one hundred thousand; or more than one-fifth of the population of London. Numerous cases occurred also in the provinces. Whole families were swept away. In some streets there was scarcely a survivor, or one able to nurse the sick. Interments had to be rapidly made in great pits. Houses, furniture, and property were abandoned. Some of the City parishes were almost deserted. Grass grew in the chief thoroughfares, and business was suspended. Though called the Great Plague, former attacks in 1407, 1479, 1500, 1513, 1563, 1603, 1625, and 1636, had proved nearly as fatal, in proportion to the inhabitants. Pepys and Evelyn have frequent entries relating to it in their Diaries. Defoe depicted the calamity in his 'Journal of the Plague Year'; a marvellous piece of realism that imposed upon many persons, including Dr. Richard Mead, the physician. Defoe was not born until 1661, but he used available printed information, and numerous incidents heard in his boyhood; combining the whole into a narrative more picturesque even than the famous one left by Thomas Dekker of the outbreak of 1603. The King and his Court removed to a safe distance; as did most of the London clergy. The places of the latter were taken by some of the silenced and ejected ministers, who, at the hazard of their own lives, braved the dangers of the pestilence, and ministered to the dying and the bereaved. One of them, the Rev. Thomas Vincent, of Christ Church, Oxford, who had been deprived of his living of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-street, issued 'God's Terrible Voice in the City,' often reprinted.

A dastardly revenge for this voluntary religious and humane service was taken by the Parliament, which met

in safe seclusion at Oxford, in October. Its chief work was the fabrication of a Bill restraining Nonconformists from inhabiting Corporations; commonly known as the Five Mile Act, from one of its provisions which forbade all persons in holy orders, who had not taken the prescribed Tests, from coming within that distance of any corporate or borough town, or of any place where they had formerly officiated; under penalty of forty pounds; one-third of which, as usual, was to go to the informer. A like penalty attached to their teaching in any public or private school, or taking boarders into their own houses for education. The object of this malignant Statute was to cut off friendly supplies from the ejected clergy, and to deprive them of the only remaining method of gaining a livelihood. A motion to extend the Act to the laity was defeated by only six votes. Sheldon is mainly responsible for the enactment; which he instantly proceeded to enforce with rigour. He had succeeded Juxon in the archbishopric in June, 1663. It was calculated at a later period by Jeremy White, who made a careful enumeration, that fifteen thousand families had been ruined, and that five thousand persons had died in prison for conscience' sake between the Restoration and the death of Charles II.; while untold sums of money were exacted in the shape of fines and confiscations from the victims.

How the Act was enforced appears in the cases of such saintly men as Joseph Alleyne, who died at the age of thirty-six from sufferings endured in Taunton Gaol; or Vavasor Powell, the Apostle of Wales, who spent eleven years in various prisons, and at last perished in the horrible Fleet; or of William Jenkyn, a learned and an accomplished clergyman, who had not favoured the Commonwealth, yet was ejected from the living of Christ Church, Newgate-street. He was rigorously confined in Newgate for conducting illegal worship; and died there in January, 1685, at the age of seventy-two. At his funeral in Bunhill-fields, City-road, his daughter distributed mourning-rings bearing the motto,—"Mr. William Jenkyn: murdered in Newgate." These three instances of clergymen imprisoned to death for preaching are typical of many. Bunhill-fields were first set apart

as a place of interment in 1665 by the Corporation of the City of London. Southey termed the spot the Campo Santo of the Dissenters; and although many others have found in it a last resting-place, Nonconformists have always regarded it as the Holy Field of their illustrious dead, whose remains were in many cases refused admission into the grave-yards of the churches where they had ministered or worshipped. In it repose the dust of men whose writings are among the most precious of the national heirlooms, like John Bunyan and Daniel Defoe; celebrated divines like Dr. John Owen, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Nathaniel Vincent, Dr. Isaac Watts, Thomas Doolittle, Thomas Bradbury, William Kiffin, Hanserd Knollys, Theophilus Gale, Dr. John Gill, Dr. John Rippon, Dr. Daniel Williams, and Theophilus Lindsey; learned men like Dr. Nathaniel Lardner and Dr. Abraham Rees; Thomas Stothard and William Blake, the painters; Thomas Hardy and John Horne Tooke, the reformers; Ritson, the antiquary; Daniel Neal, the historian of the Puritans; Charles Fleetwood, Cromwell's son-in-law; John Wesley's mother; with other worthies and confessors, fearless advocates of civil and religious liberty, whose personal character and public service not only adorned the age in which they lived, but conferred permanent benefits upon the land of their birth.

The terrible epidemic of 1665 was followed in the next year by what is known as the Great Fire of London; described with such graphic force in the Diaries of Pepys and Evelyn, and part of the theme of Dryden's 'Annus Mirabilis.' Eighty-nine churches, including St. Paul's Cathedral, with most of the public buildings, thirteen thousand dwelling-houses, and vast quantities of merchandize, were destroyed. The total loss was roughly estimated at seven millions and a half. A space of four hundred and thirty-six acres, or two-thirds of the whole area within the City walls, was left in ruins. Sir Christopher Wren's (1632-1723) plans for reconstructing London on a magnificent scale, with wide streets, an open space on the South side of St. Paul's down to the river, and a broad quay along the banks, were frustrated; but the stamp of his genius remains on the new Cathedral and on numerous churches. Party feeling and

religious antipathy attributed the fire to incendiarism by the Catholics; but no proof was ever forthcoming in support of what came to be regarded as a baseless calumny. Antecedent probability is against the charge. The Monument at London Bridge, that marks the spot where the conflagration began, bore for many years an inscription to the effect that it was due to Popish malignity; giving rise to Pope's famous phrase,—"Like a tall bully, lifts its head, and lies"; but the objectionable words were subsequently effaced. One beneficent and unexpected result of the Great Fire was that by destroying so many of the narrow and crooked streets and alleys, it occasioned the rebuilding of a large part of the City on a plan more spacious and airy. Prior to this, the Plague was almost perpetually lurking, ready to break out at any time. The attacks became less frequent and fatal, although zymotic diseases continued to rage at intervals for nearly two centuries, on account of insanitary conditions and a fitful supply of impure water; excepting within the limited district in the North of London supplied by the New River.

CHAPTER LXI.

NATIONAL DEGRADATION.

A.D. 1660–1685.

The history of the Stuart Restoration is wearisome, nauseous, and disgraceful. Enough has been written of Court intrigues and cabals; of political tergiversation and literary profligacy; of reckless waste and scandalous maladministration; of jobbery, simony, and corruption; of suffering at home and disgrace abroad. The King and his courtiers; high officers of State and members of Parliament; the judges, and the clergy, were tainted, with few exceptions, by the greed, the flippancy, the lewdness, and the villainy of the age. Brazen-fronted Vice was insolent and clamorous. The debauches of Commodus and of Heliogabalus were revived, under the

disguise of rustling silks and waving plumes. King and nobles led frivolous and useless lives. Painted harlots flaunted in the palace, and squandered money for lack of which soldiers and sailors starved. Sir Peter Lely's portraits of these Court strumpets, with their tawdry, theatrical airs, their half-clad, sensuous, meretricious beauty, and the vulgar splendour of their surroundings, reveal their shameless magnificence and the public degradation. By seventeen known mistresses, called, in the language of the day, "the chargeable ladies about the Court," Charles was reputed to have had thirteen children; several of whom were created earls or dukes, with ample incomes out of the public purse, charged in perpetuity; and still paid, where not recently commuted on a generous scale. Defoe, in 'The True-Born Englishman,' satirises such results of the "lazy, long, lascivious reign." One courtesan was sent over by Louis XIV. as a spy and an agent. She is the Bathsheba of Dryden's satire. Evelyn says that her apartments were furnished "with ten times the richness and glory of the Queen's; with massive services of plate, and whole tables and stands of incredible value." Another concubine appeared at one of the Court masques blazing with diamonds to the value of forty thousand pounds, and it was roughly calculated that she had absorbed half a million of money. Her presence was forced by Charles on his wife, Catherine of Braganza, daughter of John IV. of Portugal, whom he married in 1662 for political reasons. John Evelyn (1620-1706) and Samuel Pepys (1632-1703) record scenes, conversation, and habits that create a shudder of disgust; yet some parts of the 'Diary' of Pepys still repose in their original stenographic disguise; as it is impossible to print them. H. B. Wheatley's edition contains much matter that had been suppressed in previous issues, but some crude and coarse passages have had to be omitted. The large additions reveal Pepys in an unfavourable light, not only as regards his private character, but as participating to the utmost in the public corruption, bribery, and waste.

The Restoration flooded the country with licentiousness. Gambling, ribaldry, drunkenness, and profligacy ran riot. Perfumed beaux and belles, enamoured of one another's follies and vices, killed Time in feeble, intel-

lectual efforts over far-fetched images, ingenious phrases, keen thrusts of cruel irony, smart epigrams, highly-seasoned scandal, and brutal practical jokes. There was not even the thinnest veneer of propriety. Vulgar witticisms, course lampoons, and blasphemous parodies were invented ; their authors seeking to outvie one another in filthiness and profanity. A new oath ; a vile song ; an outrageous tale ; some lewd gossip ; a salacious play, were sure passports to Court favour. The King attended the Council meetings only to be amused, and could with difficulty be induced to apply to serious business. "Jilts ruled the State, and statesmen farces writ." Milton's delineation of Belial, in 'Paradise Lost,' is an awful picture of the times. Many of the dramas, however sparking with wit, and even after allowing for what has been written in their praise by Charles Lamb, by William Hazlitt, and by Leigh Hunt, are the foulest productions of the English or of any other Stage. The light and graceful songs of a few writers like Sir Charles Sedley cannot redeem them. Love disappeared, and revolting animalism took its place. Even glorious John Dryden (1631–1700) degraded himself and his art by pandering to the low tastes of the age. "A ribald King and Court bade him toil on to make them sport." Most of his plays are devoid of character ; false to Nature ; and feeble in expression, where they are not gross or exaggerated. His true renown lies away from the drama. No decent man would now witness—he would even blush to read—such representations as were then highly popular, after having passed through the immoral Gehenna of the French Court, and which fine ladies witnessed with erotic delight. It is part of the eternal praise due to the Later Puritans that they ceaselessly protested against these vulgar and unwholesome productions. Thackeray, in his 'English Humorists,' describes the Comic Muse of that day as "a disreputable, daring, laughing, painted French baggage" ; and J. R. Green, in noble words, vindicates the protest of the Puritans.

It was bitterly remarked that a tithe of the sums lavished in Court revels and buffoonery would have saved from want many loyal Cavaliers—the originals of Sir Mungo Malagrowther, in 'The Fortunes of Nigel'—

who had melted their plate, cut down their timber, mortgaged their estates, and ruined themselves for the Stuarts ; but were now forgotten and left to starve. In another of his novels, 'Peveril of the Peak,' Scott has sketched the manners of the Court ; gathering up and concentrating the information left by such contemporary writers as Grammont, Pepys, Burnet, and Clarendon. Charles commenced early and continued long his training in debauchery. He surrounded himself with like-minded companions. Sir John Coventry, a member of Parliament, was assailed in the street by Court ruffians, and his nose was mutilated, because of some words that were construed into being a reproach of the royal amours. George Villiers, the second Duke of Buckingham, and son of the favourite of Charles I., killed the Earl of Shrewsbury in a duel, while the Countess, his paramour, held his horse and watched the murder that was to loose her marriage-bond. His abandoned life and his disgraceful death, "in the worst inn's worst room," are described by Pope. In his burlesque of 'The Rehearsal,' Buckingham caricatured Dryden as Bayes, who took full revenge in his trenchant satire of 'Absalom and Achitophel.' In it, Buckingham figures as Zimri, upon whom are poured the vials of wrath and contempt. The Earl of Rochester, who aspires to be a poet, and who hired bravoes to cudgel Dryden for a satire that he never wrote, was addicted to the lowest debauchery ; and was worn out, infamous, and dead, at thirty-three. These are but a few types out of many that might be cited, of the prevalent corruption, waste, degradation, and moral putridity.

Dunkirk, with its renowned memories of Cromwell's rule, was shamelessly sold to the French ; whose tool and pensioner Charles became to an increasing extent. By secret treaties, Louis XIV. undertook to pay amounts which in some years were as much as a quarter of a million ; in return for hostility towards Holland and for assistance against Spain, and in order to help to suppress discontent in England. Charles was also to avow himself a Catholic as soon as expedient. The Dutch rallied from their crushing defeats by Blake ; chased English vessels from the narrow seas ; sailed up the Medway in June, 1667, and burned the ships at Chatham. London was in

a state of panic. The nation was moved as it had not been since the time of the Armada. Pepys records how everybody reflected upon Cromwell's brave deeds, and wished that he was still living. Happily, the Dutch were ignorant of the defenceless state of England—though millions had been voted for the Army and Navy—and they withdrew, after committing much damage. But the disgrace was indelible. Sir William Temple (1628–1698) was despatched to effect a Triple Alliance with Holland and Sweden; ostensibly against the aggressive designs of Louis XIV. upon Flanders; but Charles and his Ministers had no intention to break with their French paymaster. The Triple Alliance was made, to placate the angry feeling of Parliament in the Session of 1667; but was soon dissolved. The French overran Holland, and its people opened the sluices for the second time, inundated their country, and purchased present escape by the sacrifice of an enormous amount of property. Then began the heroic struggle for liberty with which is for ever associated the name of William of Orange, afterwards William III. of England.

The public indignation fell upon Clarendon. His magnificent new mansion, near St. James's Palace, popularly stigmatized as Dunkirk House, from his supposed perfidy in selling to France the only remaining English possession, was attacked by a mob, and a gibbet erected before the door. Abandoned by his graceless master to the intrigues of the Court Jezebels and Delilahs, after thirty years' unscrupulous service, he was deprived of the Great Seal in November, 1667, and impeached for high treason. He fled to the Continent, and occupied himself for seven years in composing his 'Memoirs' and his 'History of the Rebellion.' His delineations of the actors in those memorable scenes, apart from manifest bias, unjust insinuations, glaring inaccuracies, and wilful suppressions, resemble Plutarch's 'Lives' in their sharp clearness. He never returned to England, notwithstanding all his attempts and submissions; but died at Rouen, December 9, 1674. Of his abilities there can be no question. Personally upright, and outwardly decent in a gross age, he connived at his daughter becoming a mistress of the Duke of York, as a step towards witehood;

and he showed himself a willing advocate and a pliant tool of arbitrary government. With his fall, came an important change in the administration ; towards which the course of events had been tending for fifty years. An inner body within the Privy Council, afterwards known as the Cabinet, became the centre of government ; although unrecognised by the Constitution down to the present day. Bacon says, in his twenty-first 'Essay,' that the practice was introduced from Italy and France ; and he calls it "a remedy worse than the disease." For some time, the word "Cabal" was employed synonymously ; but with a sinister meaning. It was originally composed of the initial letters of the names of the five men who formed the Ministry in 1670 ; Lord Clifford, Lord Arlington, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Ashley —afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury—and the Duke of Lauderdale. The great administrative and judicial officers were in receipt of enormous salaries ; mainly derived from fees. Some of the posts were held during the royal pleasure. Others were patent offices, that could be tranferred or sold at high prices.

One of the few exceptions to the unscrupulous partisanship and self-seeking was Andrew Marvell (1620-1678), M.P. for Hull ; in which capacity his constituents paid him six and eightpence a day. He is worthy of the name of the English Aristides. His patriotism is far superior to much of his poetry. He would not sully the white robe of his independence by accepting Court favours. In the 'Rehearsal Transprosed,' he nobly vindicated and eulogized Milton, whose colleague he was for a time in the Latin Secretaryship ; and effectually answered the foul-mouthed Samuel Parker, an apostate Puritan, who was rewarded with the see of Oxford for maintaining, in a 'Discourse on Ecclesiastical Polity,' in 1670, "the authority of the civil magistrate over the consciences of subjects in matters of external religion, and the mischiefs and inconveniences of toleration" ; with the slavish dogma that "princes may with less hazard give liberty to men's vices than to their consciences" ; and that "it is better to submit to the unreasonable impositions of a Nero and a Caligula than to hazard a dissolution of the State." This crawling sycophant, a

type of a numerous class that continued to speak and write in the same vein until their own emoluments were endangered under James II., is described by Baxter as writing "the most scornfully, rashly, profusely, and cruelly against the Nonconformists of any man that ever yet assaulted them." Marvell's reply was read with delight by all classes, and it overwhelmed Parker with derision. Like the proverbial fool, he was answered according to his folly, in the style then prevalent. Marvell will always be remembered, in common with Thomas Ellwood the Quaker (1639-1713), as John Milton's friend and defender. The blind bard, after having been secreted by faithful protectors at the time of the Restoration, continued to live in obscurity in London, chiefly in Jewin-street and Artillery-walk; with a retirement to Chalfont St. Giles, in Bucks, in 1665, on account of the Plague. He had been molested for a time, and was for six months in the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Commons, because of the 'Defence of the People of England.' He was released, it is said, mainly through the influence of the playwright, Sir William Davenant, whom he once befriended when in great peril, and a pardon was granted. To the credit of Charles II., when pressed to inflict signal punishment on the poet, he refused; saying that he was sufficiently punished by being old, blind, and destitute.

It was Milton's habit to spend the morning in study, with the aid of readers; and to dictate to an amanuensis the results of his profound meditations; his accurate ear determining the rhythm with nice adjustment. He is described as sitting in the afternoon at the open door of his house, when the sun shone; his eyes revealing no trace of his affliction; his auburn hair hanging round classic features that still showed his early beauty; his cheeks fresh and tinted; and often visited by admiring and distinguished strangers from foreign lands. He gently passed away, November 8, 1674, in his sixty-sixth year. His last resting-place is in St. Giles's, Cripplegate, where Cromwell was married. A monument marks the spot; one of the shrines to which English and American pilgrims resort. A memorial window was placed in 1887 in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, by G. W. Childs.

of Philadelphia ; and the poet, J. G. Whittier, composed for it a quatrain. No longer able to take part in public affairs, and the cause of which he was the literary champion being, for the time, lost, Milton gathered his singing-robes around him during the troubled days, and, rivalling Scio's Blind Old Bard, poured forth the majestic strains of 'Paradise Lost' ; taking, as of right, his seat with the Immortals on the Sacred Mount. With fit friends, though few, so far as concerned mundane affairs and the contemptible politics of a degenerate age, "his soul was like a star, and dwelt apart" ; as Wordsworth sings. Like one of the old prophets, he consoled himself with celestial images, amidst a world given over to baseness and frivolity. Though sightless, he soared and basked in the eternal light ; and his inward eye ranged over universal Nature. God and Man ; Heaven and Hell ; Creation and Paradise ; Providence and Redemption, with their sublime and awful mysteries, were open to him ; and future ages of liberty and glory appeared in radiant vision. In the maturity of his powers, his massive thought, his affluence of learning, his lofty imagination, and his pomp and felicity of diction, produced one of the few really great poems of the world ; like the sound of rolling organs and cathedral choirs.

His carefully-chosen, long-projected epic, probably commenced in 1658, though not seriously undertaken until 1661, was published seven years before his death ; not without difficulty from the Licenser, who suspected treason, for instance, in lines 504-9 of the First Book. Other portions had to be toned down. Its partial similarity in theme and in style to Cædmon, the Saxon poet, was pointed out in the fourth Chapter ; and his genius did not disdain to borrow from his Dutch contemporary, Justus van den Vondel, whose masterpiece was the tragedy of 'Lucifer,' and who wrote a poem on Samson. The character and fame of Milton's work were established on an indestructible basis long before Addison wrote his elaborate analysis in the 'Spectator.' Thomas Rymer (1638-1713), better known as the compiler of 'Fœdera' than as the incompetent critic of Shakspere, pronounced "our poetry of the last age as rude as our architecture" ; and ridiculed "that 'Paradise Lost' of

Milton which some are pleased to call a poem." Few persons suspect how far the popular conception of the Creation and the Fall have been influenced by Milton's epic ; in the splendour and majesty of which the dim outline of the Hebrew story is enlarged and filled up. The only other book, except the Bible, which has done so much to mould the religious opinions of the English people, is 'The Pilgrim's Progress.'

Two other works by Milton appeared in 1669 and 1670 ; the manuscripts of which had long awaited issue : his 'Latin Grammar,' and a 'History of Britain to the Norman Conquest.' He also sent forth, September 20, 1670, in one volume, 'Paradise Regained,' and 'Samson Agonistes.' The first was suggested by his young and staunch Quaker friend, Thomas Ellwood, when returning the earlier manuscript lent to him by the poet :—"Thou hast said much here of 'Paradise lost ; what hast thou to say of Paradise found ?" Milton's 'Samson' contains, as the nature of the theme suggests, numerous pathetic references to his own blindness, and is a vivid portraiture of himself and the times in which he lived. It is spoiled in the adaptation to Handel's oratorio. The above, with those named in preceding Chapters, comprise Milton's best-known works issued during his lifetime ; but he left in the hands of his latest amanuensis, David Skinner, a Cambridge scholar, a compilation of his celebrated Latin Letters of State, and a 'Treatise of Christian Doctrine,' also in Latin. An imperfect edition of the former appeared surreptitiously in London, in 1676. The latter, after lying unsuspected in the State Paper Office, was found by Robert Lemon and published in 1825. Surprise was expressed at its Arianism, although any careful reader of 'Paradise Lost' must have been prepared for this.

Dryden was a King's Scholar at Westminster, under the renowned Dr. Richard Busby, and graduated at Cambridge in 1657. His first literary production of any note was in the form of heroic stanzas on the death of Cromwell ; but his somewhat vagrant Muse, with equal splendour of diction, and perhaps with equal sincerity, extolled the Stuart Restoration. He devoted himself to the Stage, as already mentioned, and then he discovered

his great powers as a satirist. In his 'Absalom and Achitophel,' the latter is intended for the Earl of Shaftesbury, whom also he fiercely assailed in a biting lampoon, 'The Medal.' When Elkanah Settle, Thomas Shadwell, and other gad-flies of literature buzzed around him with their ineffectual attempts at retaliation, he finally crushed them with his 'Mac Flecknoe.' Whatever may be thought of the arguments with which he vindicated his conversion to Romanism, in 'The Hind and the Panther,' and however absurd as an allegory, it is a brilliant specimen of his unrivalled powers. His 'Ode on St. Cecilia's Day' is one of the finest pieces of exact lyrical poetry in the language. Pope speaks of his "long, majestic march, and energy divine." Gray depicts him in the phrase,—"In thoughts that breathe and words that burn;" and told his friend, James Beattie, to remember Dryden, and be blind to all his faults; adding, that if there was any excellence in his own numbers, he had learned it wholly from that great poet, whose choice of words and versification were singularly happy and harmonious. One of the best modern criticisms is in Russell Lowell's 'Among my Books.'

John Bunyan (1628–1688), had suffered nearly twelve years' imprisonment in Bedford for conscience' sake, because he would not promise to abstain from what was deemed unauthorized preaching. He was released by the general pardon granted in 1672, under the illegal Declaration of Indulgence; designed to favour the Romanists. Within ten months, three thousand five hundred licenses to preach and hold religious meetings were granted; showing the extent to which Nonconformity had spread. To the Quakers belong the honour of having his name inserted in a measure ostensibly granted in answer to their petition. Probably he was not aware of this, for he strongly denounces what he styles their vile and abominable errors. He regarded their light within as only "the subtlety of the devil," who made them "even to forbear wearing hat-bands." "They will speak such sad blasphemies, and vent such horrible doctrines, that it makes me wonder to see the patience of God." To his stern Calvinism and vivid realism, much of the Quaker teaching was meaningless, where

it was not false and pernicious. For three years, Bunyan remained at liberty, but his license to preach was then revoked, in common with many others, when renewed attempts were being made to enforce the Act of Uniformity. He was again arrested, and was imprisoned for six months in the town gaol on Bedford Bridge. An early tradition represents him, attended by his little blind girl, making laces for the support of his wife and family, and selling them at the prison door. It is supposed that he wrote during his incarceration his immortal allegory, 'The Pilgrim's Progress.' He had already published various works; the most celebrated being, in 1666, his 'Grace Abounding.' Whether his great dream was completed in prison, where one-fifth of his life was spent, does not appear; but its autobiographical allusions prove that it was begun there. The First Part was entered at Stationers' Hall, December 22, 1677; a second edition appeared a few months later; and a third in 1679; so that it leaped at a bound into the popularity which it has retained for more than two centuries.

Bunyan was a man of deep feeling, of strong convictions, and of fervid imagination; which he possessed the faculty of conveying to others in realistic form. The greatest popular preacher since Latimer, or before Whitefield, Wesley, or Charles Haddon Spurgeon, he clothes arguments in the guise of parables. Abstract terms elude him. He grasps the concrete when dealing with the spiritual realm, and hears audible sounds and contemplates visible forms. As a rule, the characters in an allegory are cold, stiff, and unnatural; but his glow with life and reality, so that all sense of illusion vanishes. His renowned book is an idealization of human life in its spiritual moods; with its struggles, failures, and successes. Some of his portrayals, as already shown, are vivid delineations of the men and the events of his time. He drew his inspiration from the same source as the great Florentine whose 'Divina Commedia' appeared three centuries before, though probably he never heard the name of Dante. Bunyan's second chief work, 'The Holy War,' was published in 1682. In all, sixty known works, including tracts, issued from the pen of one of

the greatest writers of nervous, forcible, colloquial, and idiomatic English. It is the simplest and the homeliest style ever used; because its imagery and diction are those of the English Bible. Bunyan, though a Baptist, broke away from the narrowness and rigidity of his sect; to whom, as to the Romanist and the High Churchman, the outward rite was the only entrance into the fold of the Church. Before his time, Open Communion was scarcely known among Baptists; and it is still, strange to say, the exception with the numerous adherents of that body in the United States and in Canada, whose rigidity is alien alike to the national spirit of freedom, to the popular civil institutions, and to the genius of Christianity. Bunyan boldly denied that the Ordinance of Baptism, however and to whomsoever applied, was an initiation into the Christian Church; and he took a decided and consistent stand against Sacramentarianism in any form.

The literary character of the latter part of the seventeenth century has been indicated by the mention of its prominent writers. In the domain of science, Robert Boyle (1627-1691), founder of the lecture that bears his name, stands pre-eminent. He began those chemical investigations which, continued by others, went on accumulating, until, a century later, they furnished Anthony L. Lavoisier and Sir Humphry Davy with the means for their great discoveries. Inferior only to Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727), though in a marked degree, Boyle was the most distinguished Englishman in his sphere since the days of Bacon, and was certainly the most illustrious at the time the Royal Society received its charter in 1662. It was the outgrowth of meetings of learned persons during the previous fifteen years in London and in Oxford; if, indeed, it was not the result of those held in Gresham College in the time of Elizabeth. Newton, the greatest mathematician and natural philosopher of his own or any other age, was born in the year of Galileo's death. Burnet said, "He had the whitest soul I ever knew; and his goodness was equal to his greatness." His Doctrine of Fluxions, his Binomial Theorem, his investigations into the nature of light and the construction of telescopes, and his discovery of the

Law of Universal Gravitation—alleged by Leibnitz, out of jealousy, to be subversive of religion—are expounded in the 'Principia,' and in his other scientific treatises. The great theologian, Dr. John Owen, boldly venturing out of his proper sphere, had the temerity to say that the Newtonian philosophy was "built upon fallible phenomena, and advanced by many arbitrary presumptions against evident testimonies of Scripture." John Ray (1627–1705), another early member of the Royal Society, renowned for the patience, minuteness, and accuracy of his observations, is deemed by Cuvier the founder of modern zoology. He was also a distinguished botanist, and his method of classifying plants became the basis of the Natural System of Jussieu and others. Ray also brought out the elaborate works on birds and fishes by his pupil and friend, Francis Willoughby (1635–1672); the materials for which were in part collected and wholly arranged by himself. Linnæus and Buffon borrowed largely from Ray. Thomas Burnet (1635–1715), Master of the Charterhouse, the friend of Cudworth and of Tillotson, published, first in Latin, and then in English, his 'Sacred Theory of the Earth'; written to justify the doctrines of a paradisaical state, a universal deluge, and a final conflagration. It resembles in prose the once-famous apocalyptic paintings by John Martin, such as 'The Plains of Heaven,' and it fired the imagination of Addison, when a youth.

The Cabal Ministry extended over two years from 1670. It was devoid of statesmanship, patriotism, or morality. Most of its members formed part of the next Cabinet, in 1673, which committed a scandalous breach of public faith, and inflicted a staggering blow on public credit, by shutting the Exchequer for five months. Money that had been advanced to the Government by goldsmiths and others, to the extent of nearly a million and a half, was virtually confiscated. Trade and industry were disorganized, and there were numerous bankruptcies. It was a wanton act of robbery, under the royal prerogative. There were other attempts to restore the old Stuart despotism. Chief among these was the repeated assertion of a dispensing power by the King, who claimed the right to suspend penal Statutes against Nonconfor-

mists and Romanists; in the interests of the latter. The Commons declared that such suspension could not take effect without the consent of Parliament, and refused to pass a Money Bill until the Declaration was rescinded. They were willing, in a legal way, to grant relief to Protestant Dissenters; who, however, were not prepared to have Papists, Quakers, and other "intolerable persons" included; and so the matter dropped. The licenses to preach, mentioned in the case of Bunyan, became void, and the action taken by Charles led to the passing of the Test Act, in 1673, as a protest. All officers and place-holders were again required to receive the Sacrament according to the forms of the Church of England, and to declare disbelief in the dogma of Transubstantiation. In default, they were declared incapable of civil or military employment. One effect, in conjunction with the Corporation Act, was to disqualify Nonconformists for a century and a half from all public positions; except by the clumsy and unworthy expedient of an annual Act of Indemnity. The Duke of York resigned the office of Lord High Admiral; and Clifford that of Treasurer; and hundreds of other open or secret Romanists had to retire. The almost universal hatred and dread of Popery can scarcely be understood at the present day, but it exerted a potent influence on events, and was directed against its known and treacherous support of arbitrary regal power, and its perpetual interference with the internal affairs of nations. This explains the panic caused by what was called the Popish Plot of 1678; got up by the infamous Titus Oates, a repeated renegade and pervert, of vile personal character. Through him, and a set of subsorned and perjured ruffians, a number of innocent victims perished on the scaffold as traitors.

The Parliament elected in 1661 had continued to meet at varying intervals, chiefly regulated by the pecuniary aid which Charles extorted from Louis XIV. of France, who always yielded, after more or less of haggling, rather than have the relations with France discussed, and his hold upon Charles loosened; dreading lest England might be aroused to interfere with his schemes of European aggrandizement. At length it was needful to dissolve the Parliament, in January, 1679. Its tone

and temper had greatly changed, owing to the Court tactics; but Charles would not risk an open collision. His indolent good nature—mere selfishness at its root—shrank from it. He had drunk deep and long of the bitter cup of foreign exile, and often declared that he would never again set out on his travels. Hence he was determined not to risk his Crown, while trying to have his own way. The new Legislature that assembled on March 6, 1679, was still more hostile to the Court, and still more suspicious of the Duke of York. One of its first measures was a Bill to exclude him from the succession; owing to apprehensions which his subsequent conduct fully justified. To prevent this, a prorogation was suddenly ordered: but Charles was first constrained by pecuniary necessities to assent to the Habeas Corpus Act; although he often said that a Government could not subsist with such a law. It is a constitutional landmark; not as conferring new rights or liberties, and not as bestowing for the first time immunity from illegal arrest and arbitrary imprisonment, for these were already secured by franchises more ancient than Magna Charta; though often ruthlessly thrust aside by despotic power. The new Act defined with precision the rights of subjects, and furnished a summary and an effectual method of procedure by way of strengthening old safeguards; with heavy penalties for violation.

Shaftesbury, with all his trickery and vacillation, is entitled to the credit of introducing the Bill, and also one for making judges independent of the Crown. Another guarantee to public rights was furnished by a famous decision of Chief Justice Vaughan, in 1679. William Penn and William Mead, two celebrated Quakers, were tried at the Old Bailey under the Conventicle Act. One of the jury, Edward Bushel, whose name deserves honourable remembrance, resisted the browbeating of the Recorder, Thomas Howell, after a verdict had been repeatedly brought in of "Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch-street," which was not enough to secure a conviction. Each of the jurors was fined forty marks for perverseness and contumacy. Bushel refused to pay, and was committed to prison. He appealed to the Court of Common Pleas, and Vaughan, one of the rare

instances of honour and integrity on the Bench at that time, in an elaborate judgment declared the fine and the imprisonment illegal. Such assertions of the liberty of the subject were unpalatable to the Court party. Attempts were made to control the Bench, as in former days. No fewer than three Lord Chancellors, three Chief Justices, and six puisne Judges were deprived of their offices on political grounds, and were supplanted by subservient tools who strained the law to suit the purposes of their creators and patrons.

In the end, this policy defeated itself. Lessons of liberty acquired during the struggles with James I. and Charles I. were never forgotten. Notwithstanding all that brands the Restoration period with infamy, there were indications of better things at hand. The clergy were deprived of the privilege of taxing themselves in Convocation. The right of the Commons to initiate Money Bills, and to regulate the amount of imposts, was finally conceded; the Peers being obliged to be content with the acceptance or rejection of such measures as a whole. The Upper House was also forced, after a sharp struggle, to yield its pretensions to an original jurisdiction in civil suits. By the Statute of Frauds and Perjuries, called by Blackstone "a great and necessary security to private property," and by Lord Campbell "the most important and most beneficial piece of juridical legislation of which we can boast," a security hitherto unknown was given to personal ownership. General impeachments were abolished, whereby unscrupulous and powerful men had ruined political adversaries. To crown all, as confirming and completing the work of the Long Parliament, most of the remaining vestiges of Feudalism were swept away; such as the dormant claims of the Crown to Purveyance, pre-emption, and military tenure; the abominations of the Court of Wards; fines on alienation of land; with the Aids, Homages, and other dues, alike despotic in their origin, barbarous in language, and irritating in operation. All these changes were the results of that spirit of bold inquiry in the great domains of politics and of theology which had undermined old traditions and dogmas.

Another appeal to the constituencies was made during

1679, but the new Legislature was not convened for more than a year. Feeling ran high concerning the Duke of York and the succession. People were divided into Exclusionists and into Abhorrers of such a policy. He was sent out of the way; first, for six months, to Brussels, and then, for two years, to Scotland, where his administration was marked by a fresh outbreak of persecution against those adherents of the Solemn League and Covenant who sturdily refused, as their fathers had done, to submit to Episcopacy. Dragoons were sent to enforce compliance. Many innocent victims were tortured and murdered. Women and girls were flogged, branded, or tied to stakes, to be drowned by the rising tide. Dunnottar Castle, on the coast of Kincardineshire, and the submarine dungeons of the Bass Rock in the Firth of Forth, were crowded with prisoners, whose only crime was their religious constancy, and whose heroic endurance can never be forgotten. Ruffian and drunken soldiers, and savage Highlanders scarcely removed from barbarism, were let loose upon the people, and did as they chose; devastating the country, burning houses, stealing property, torturing men, and ravishing women. A reign of terror prevailed for six years; especially in Ayrshire, Dumfriesshire, and Galloway. In retaliation, Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, was assassinated on May 3, 1679, for alleged perfidy, apostasy, and cruelty. Public sentiment approved of the deed, which of course provoked fiercer treatment. The Duke of York found a ghoulish pleasure in witnessing the application of the horrible implements of torture known as the thumb-screw and the boot; listening to the agonizing shrieks of the sufferers, as if he were watching some curious scientific experiments, when others fled, horror-stricken, from the scenes. The full story is told in James Dodds' 'Lays of the Covenanters,' and in his 'Fifty Years' Struggle'; in George Gilfillan's 'Martyrs, Heroes, and Bards'; and it is the subject of 'Ringhan Gilhaize,' one of John Galt's novels, and of Scott's 'Old Mortality.'

Parliament met in Oxford, March 21, 1681. The Exclusion Bill was again pressed forward. To prevent its being carried, the Session was ended in eight days; and no other Legislature was convened during the short

remainder of the reign. An increased pension was applied for and received from Louis XIV. Writs of *Quo Warranto*, brought forth from the rusty legal armoury of the Middle Ages, deprived the City of London and many boroughs of their Charters, and amerced them in heavy fines for pretended infractions of the law. Close Corporations were formed of Crown nominees; in the realistic and dramatic fashion described by Bunyan in the 'Holy War.' The evils thus inflicted were not wholly remedied until the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832; with its companion measure for Municipal Reform in 1835. The occurrence in 1683 of what is known as the Rye House Plot, alleged to have been designed to assassinate Charles and his brother on their way from Newmarket to London, led to the mockery of a trial before the infamous Jeffreys and to the execution of Lord William Russell (1039-1683), of the great House of Bedford, and of Algernon Sidney (1617-1683), grand-nephew of Sir Philip Sidney, on a constructive charge of high treason. No proof exists of a statement that they accepted French money; which rests on the bare word of Barilly, the ambassador; or that they were involved in the Plot in any way. The true reason was that Russell always opposed the unconstitutional measures of the Court, and promoted the Exclusion Bill; and that Sidney was obnoxious because of his philosophical Republicanism. There was neither legal nor moral guilt; but suborned witnesses, a packed jury, and a venal judge secured the desired end. The attainder was reversed after the Revolution.

Among other victims was Robert Baillie, of Jerviswood, great grandson of John Knox, and a cousin of Burnet. On the day of Russell's execution, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, opposite his father's house, as if to intensify his anguish and to mark the rejection of his offer of one hundred thousand pounds for the life of his son, the University of Oxford issued its notorious Declaration in favour of Passive Obedience of the most slavish kind. Four years later, its members were required by James II. to put their own dogma into practice, by admitting Papists to rich collegiate preferments. Then they renounced both their opinions and their loyalty. The

crisis was nearer than any could have supposed at the end of 1683. Within thirteen months, Charles was dead, after being hurriedly shriven by a priest brought up the back-stairs for the purpose, while the Anglican prelates waited in vain in an ante-room to help him make a pious and decorous end according to the regulation forms of the Protestant Episcopal Church of England; in which he never believed, although he was its legal head, and was prayed for in ten thousand churches as "our most Religious and Gracious King." Buckingham and Halifax, who knew him well, both declared that he was a Deist. His final avowal of Catholicism, like the analogous devotion and blind zeal of Louis XIV. of France, was probably the result of superstitious dread on the part of a worn-out libertine, no longer able to find satisfaction in low and grovelling animal pleasures, but anxious to make the best possible arrangements for the Dark Unknown.

CHAPTER LXII.

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION.

A.D. 1685–1689.

THREE hours after the decease of Charles II., his brother was proclaimed King, under the style of James II. (b. 1633, r. 1685–8, d. 1701). His pledge to maintain the laws inviolate, and to uphold the Church, did not allay the apprehensions that led to repeated attempts to pass the Exclusion Bill. Some opposition was manifested; resulting in the futile and disastrous rising in Scotland, under the Earl of Argyle, who was arrested and executed, upon evidence on which, as Halifax said, "we should not hang a dog here." The rising in the West of England was more serious, and went far to be successful. Nominally under the Duke of Monmouth, the eldest of the late monarch's numerous bastard progeny, and the Absalom of Dryden's powerful satire, a poltroon and an adventurer, it was really an attempt

of the Puritan farmers, artisans, and labourers to supplant James because of his religion, and to escape from Stuart oppression and Popish superstition. They were deluded into supporting Monmouth as the champion of Protestantism, and their zeal and fervour nearly won the day at the Battle of Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater, on July 6, 1685. Nothing but the skill and courage of John Churchill (1650–1722), afterwards Duke of Marlborough, the second in command, prevented irretrievable disaster to the royal troops. Monmouth, worthy of being compared to Bob Acres, was in one of his craven moods, and fled from the field; to be captured, condemned, and executed, after abject appeals for mercy, which the pitiless James contemptuously spurned.

The battle became a rout and ended in indiscriminate butchery. Two thousand fell, or were cut down or hanged on the following day, without any form of trial, against a loss of only four hundred on the royal side. Churches and public buildings were crowded with prisoners, reserved for deliberate vengeance. "Colonel Kirke's lambs," as the brutal dragoons were called, were let loose on the surrounding district. Houses were pillaged and burned. Growing crops were trampled down. Men were tortured, shot, roasted alive, half hung, and then cut down for further cruelties, in sheer wantonness. Women were outraged and flogged. Little children aroused no pity in these incarnate fiends. The terrible story is treated in such realistic novels as Walter Besant's 'For Faith and Freedom,' Blackmore's 'Lorna Doone,' and Conan Doyle's 'Micah Clarke.' All this was a prelude of diabolical revenge upon some fifteen hundred who survived the battle, or who were arrested on suspicion. Numbers had taken no part in the rising; but it was enough that their relatives and friends had done so. The intention was to strike terror and dismay. The district around Taunton and Bridgewater was made an Aceldama. A Special Commission was appointed by James II., with Chief Justice Jeffreys at its head. Sir William Scroggs, his predecessor, was infamous; but Jeffreys was far worse. His name is synonymous with cruelty, mean-

ness, and illegality. It was once said of him in the House of Commons that he behaved more like a jackpudding than with the gravity that beseemed a judge. His appointment in 1683 was a reward for his obsequiousness in straining the law against Corporations and individuals in the interest of the Court; though Charles II. declared that he had "no learning, no sense, no manners, and more impudence than ten carted streetwalkers." Lord Campbell draws an unflattering portrait of him, both as Chief Justice and as Lord Chancellor; to which high post he was advanced avowedly as a further reward for unscrupulous and disgraceful services.

Late in August, 1685, began what has ever since been known as the Bloody Assize. It was a travesty of justice. Swift convictions were secured from packed juries. Evidence was dispensed with. Witnesses for the accused were not allowed to testify. Jeffreys revelled and gloated in his task. He bullied and cursed the prisoners; who were tried in batches of ten, twenty, or more. He alternated vulgarity and abuse with maudlin tears and blasphemous invocations. He delighted in giving what he called "a lick with the rough side of his tongue." He boasted that he had hanged more than all the judges put together since the Conquest. It was a gross exaggeration, but it revealed the nature of the man. The victims were strung up in dozens and in scores. Their dismembered limbs were exhibited at every cross-road and in every market place and village over an area of sixty square miles. One of the most illustrious was Lady Alice Lisle, who, at an advanced age, was beheaded; nominally for harbouring a Nonconformist minister, but really because she was the widow of one of the judges of Charles I. Elizabeth Gaunt, for a similar act of womanly charity in befriending a fugitive, was burned at Tyburn. At Dorchester, three hundred and fourteen were sentenced to death; more than one-fourth of whom were hanged and quartered. It was the same throughout the South-Western counties. Yet, to their eternal honour, not one of the helpless victims faltered. Some of them avowed, until drums and trumpets silenced them, that they would repeat what they had done, for the sake of

their country and its liberties. After three hundred and thirty in all, according to the general estimate, had been executed in less than a month, there was imminent danger of a revulsion of feeling; though James peevishly complained that the victims were insufficient. With a refinement of cruelty, more than eight hundred of the survivors were sold into a living death as slaves in the Barbadoes. Perfumed courtiers and the frail ladies of St. James' received grants of prisoners, whom they assigned from ten to fifteen pounds a head, or for as much more as they could obtain from coarse pirates and freebooters, who were left to make what they could by re-sale to the planters. Tied in gangs, numbers of men and women were driven on foot to Poole, and thence shipped to the West Indies in irons. Of the remaining prisoners, heavy fines, whipping, and long terms of close imprisonment were the portion.

To Jeffreys also attaches the infamy of insulting, mimicking, and sentencing Richard Baxter, on a pretended charge of sedition. Baxter was only one out of many Nonconformists—though the most conspicuous—who suffered at that time. The Rev. George Fownes died in Gloucester goal, in November, 1685, after a long and severe imprisonment; which his physician pronounced to be a murder. John Howe and others took refuge in Holland. It is now known that the covert design of James II. was to render their position intolerable, in order to compel their assent to the repeal or suspension of the laws against Popery. He aimed to establish an arbitrary monarchy, and to reconcile England to the Romish See. In defiance of law, he had the Mass ostentatiously celebrated in the Chapel Royal on the second Sunday after his brother's death. At the coronation ceremony Archbishop Sancroft was ordered to omit the Communion Service. James failed to understand the Protestant instinct of the nation. It was to be bound hand and foot, and subjected to the Crown, which was to be held under fealty to the Pope. It was a final effort on the part of a manikin monarch, feebly treading in the steps of his father, to extinguish popular liberties. The judicial bench was packed. More than a third of the lords-lieutenant and of the sheriffs were

displaced, because they were Protestants. The militia force of the counties was disbanded, as inimical to the royal despotism. More Charters were revoked, and the members of municipal corporations were repeatedly changed. Threats and cajolery were employed with the country gentry. The clergy were ordered to preach the dogmas of Divine Right and of Passive Obedience ; and at the same time were required to share their emoluments with their ancient ecclesiastical foes. This insensate scheme was devised at a time when the country was being stirred to its depths by the arrival of many thousands of industrious and thrifty French Protestants, expatriated by the infamous Dragonnades of 1684, and by the sudden Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, on October 15, 1685 ; which forms the theme of Conan Doyle's 'Refugees,' with its wealth of description. The immigrants, like the Dutch and Walloon exiles who found an asylum here in Elizabeth's reign, settled in Spitalfields, in Norwich, in Coventry, in Canterbury, and other towns, establishing local silk-weaving industries. Other bands of fugitives crossed the Atlantic, founded New Rochelle, near New York, and were welcomed in Massachusetts, Virginia, South Carolina, and elsewhere, as the Huguenot societies still commemorate.

Three years afterwards, James II. was a fugitive. When his first and only Parliament met, November 9, 1685, after shameless attempts to pack it, he showed plainly what he hoped and meant to do. Under pretext of the Monmouth rising, he demanded an adequate vote for the maintenance of an Army which he had covertly and illegally increased to twenty thousand men. The chronic jealousy of the Legislature with respect to mercenaries was aroused ; and the expected vote was reduced by nearly one-half. Still more alarm was caused by the admission of Catholics to the Privy Council ; by their open employment as officers, in defiance of the Test Act ; and by the royal declaration that their services should not be dispensed with. A similar course was pursued in Scotland and in Ireland ; awakening in the former country the old spirit of indignant opposition. So resolute was the attitude of both Lords and Commons, that a prorogation took place within eleven days ; and they

were never allowed to assemble again. The small amount voted could not be collected ; but Tunnage and Poundage yielded a present supply, and some of the old and illegal Stuart methods of raising money were resorted to. Additional sums were secretly furnished by Louis XIV. of France. The Court was filled with priests ; and James openly announced his intention to set aside the Test Act by the exercise of his mere prerogative. His right to do this was obsequiously affirmed by eleven out of the twelve judges on the bench, at the instigation of Jeffreys. A new ecclesiastical court, modelled on the old and hated High Commission, was instituted under his presidency, and included several known Papists. This was an express violation of the law. Among other illegal jurisdictions, it sought to enforce the appointment of such persons as heads of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge ; provoking a storm of resistance from Tory Anglicans. They had loudly asserted the extreme theory of Divine Right and Passive Obedience, which was directed against Nonconformists, whom they had been too eager to persecute to the utmost, simply because they worshipped God other than in the prescribed mode. It was a widely different matter now that the clergy were required to exemplify the theory in their own persons, and to acquiesce in the nomination of Romanists to lucrative posts in the Established Church. It was like laying sacrilegious hands upon the ark ; and these self-appointed exclusive guardians of the temple and its treasure prepared to resist any encroachments on their monopoly. They even invoked the assistance of their quondam victims, the Nonconformists, in the emergency ; not for the only time.

The next step of James in the same direction was taken early in 1687, by the issue of a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, following the illegal example set by his brother in 1672, and in defiance of the resolute action of Parliament in the next year, and of the known feeling in the country. All penal laws against Nonconformists were suspended ; all religious tests as qualifications for offices were abrogated ; and Roman Catholic worship was expressly permitted. Daniel Defoe (1659-1731) warned the Protestant Dissenters that this was a trap to ensnare

and ruin them, and that the pretended Dispensing Power was illegal. Men like Baxter, Owen, Howe, and Bunyan refused to avail themselves of it. They pointed out that if the monarch, by mere proclamation, could set aside one law, he could also sweep away all the Statutes of the Realm ; and they pertinently asked how much English rights and liberties would then be worth ? They declared that the enjoyment of religious toleration would be dearly purchased at the sacrifice of civil freedom and of ancient constitutional safeguards. They rightly denounced the project as a cunning scheme to delude Dissenters, by holding out to them a promise of immediate relief from grievances in order to cover the ultimate design of restoring the Papal supremacy and a royal despotism in England. It was a crafty scheme to create a feud between the Established Church and the Nonconformists, in order to destroy both in the end. It is not surprising that some of the latter, smarting under their sufferings and wrongs, welcomed even this illegal method of escape ; but it was well for the future liberties of the country that the project signally failed.

An Order in Council commanded the Declaration to be publicly read during the time of Divine Service on two specified Sundays. The bishops were enjoined to secure compliance ; but they hesitated, and at length asked to be excused. A petition and remonstrance was presented by Sancroft (1616–1693) and six of his suffragans, viz., Lloyd, of St. Asaph ; Turner, of Ely ; Lake, of Chichester ; White, of Peterborough ; Trelawney, of Bristol ; and Ken, of Bath and Wells. Six other bishops concurred in the protest. James charged them with raising a standard of rebellion, and ordered an indictment for high treason. They were committed to the Tower ; but their progress thither was an ovation. Tried in the Court of King's Bench on a charge of presenting a seditious libel, their counsel impugned the Declaration as illegal. The bold defence alarmed the Crown lawyers, and such of the judges as were prepared to uphold the Crown policy. The jury acquitted the Seven Bishops. A shout of triumph arose from a distinguished crowd in Westminster Hall, and was taken up by thousands waiting in the adjacent streets. Bells were rung, and bonfires

kindled; and there was universal rejoicing when the news spread through the provinces. The Declaration became a dead letter. Of nearly ten thousand clergymen, not two hundred, it was said, obeyed the royal mandate to read it from their pulpits. James was surprised, disappointed, and angry; not without cause, remembering how they had upheld his pretensions. The first and only time that the Church made war upon the Crown was when its own monopoly was threatened by a toleration of what were regarded as rival religions. Macaulay's famous censure is not one whit too strong, when the antecedent circumstances are considered. "Never were principles so loudly professed, and so shamelessly abandoned. . . . The King laid his hand upon them, and they cursed him to his face."

The conduct of James II. was a fortunate circumstance, judged by the ultimate results, for the civil liberties of England. His determination to pursue the usual despotic course of the Stuarts, and to set up a personal government, led to negotiations being opened by the Whig party with William, Prince of Orange Stadtholder of the United Provinces. Born in 1650, he was grandson of William the Silent, the illustrious liberator of Holland from the yoke of Spain. He was also nephew to James II., whose daughter he had married in 1677. Ever since, his palace at Loo had been the meeting-place of Englishmen who dreaded the downfall of their country's liberties by the re-establishment of Popery; and he had constantly intervened in English affairs by remonstrance and advice. Cool, reserved, patient, far-seeing, and rashly-cautious, the leading purpose of his life was to resist the insatiable ambition of Louis XIV. of France, by forming an offensive and defensive alliance among the other European nations. Personal animosity had not a little to do with it; for the French King was furious because William had scornfully refused to marry his illegitimate daughter; and never forgave him. The League of Augsburg was effected in 1686, after repeated failures and disappointments; surmounted by the consummate statesmanship and unwearying energy of William of Orange. At the end of June, 1688, a request was sent to him by a number of English leaders, to place himself at the head of a

movement to restore the constitutional monarchy on sure foundations. The States-General promised armed assistance, if this should become necessary by the threatened intervention of France. For more than a century, Holland had been, almost alone of all Europeans countries, the asylum of liberty, and had rendered inestimable service by the freedom there allowed to the Press. She gave shelter to Puritan and Separatist exiles from England, to expatriated French Huguenots, and to philosophers like Descartes; and now gave to England one of her greatest monarchs.

James was repeatedly warned of the impending danger, but would not believe it. He announced in August, 1688, his intention of convening a Parliament in the following month; but the assigned day passed; and then a Proclamation was issued, that universal liberty of conscience was to be legally established, while the Church of England should remain inviolate. This further and final attempt to lull the storm wholly failed. On the tenth of October, William launched a Manifesto from the Hague; reciting the just causes of complaint of the English people; enumerating fifteen particulars in which constitutional law had been set at nought; and declaring that his sole purpose in responding to their appeal to him to visit the country at the head of an armed force was that a free Parliament might be called to determine the course of affairs. On Monday, the Fifth of November, he landed in Torbay with ten thousand foot soldiers and four thousand cavalry. He at once set forth by way of Exeter and Salisbury towards London, and was joined on the road by many of the nobility and gentry of the West. The pusillanimous James was urged by his friends to adopt bold and decisive measures, by placing himself at the head of the forces they were prepared to raise, and seizing upon strong strategical points. He delayed, promised, and prevaricated. When he summoned his adherents, he found that most of them had then cast in their lot with the other side, from weariness or disgust; or had sought safety abroad. He was abandoned by his son-in-law, the dull, stupid, torpid glutton, who lived only for the pleasures of the table, Prince George of Denmark; known in history by his nickname of *Est-il-*

possible? This exclamation was as common with him as the "Prodigious!" of Dominie Sampson in 'Guy Mannering.'

It was said that James was driven out of the kingdom by the popular song of 'Lilliburlero,' or, as it is often written, 'Lillibullero,' a catching tune by Henry Purcell (1658–1695), set to nonsensical words attributed to Lord Wharton; a man of great wit and versatile cleverness; afterwards Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Swift attacked him in the fourteenth number of his 'Examiner,' in one of his masterpieces of characterization; disfigured, as usual, by partisan hatred. Addison dedicated the fifth volume of the 'Spectator' to Wharton; delineating him in flattering and eulogistic terms. His song had a more powerful effect than the philippics of Demosthenes or Cicero. According to Burnet, everybody sang it, in city and in country. The effect is comparable to the doggerel refrain of 'Tippecanoe and Tyler too,' a noted Presidential song in America fifty years ago. On the eleventh of December, James secretly withdrew from Whitehall, like a thief in the night. After sundry escapades he was allowed by connivance to go to France. Fooled, mortified, and defeated, he threw up three kingdoms for a Mass. Nature designed him for an Inquisitor; but the accident of birth made him a King. His tool, Jeffreys, tried to escape in the garb of a seaman, but was detected and maltreated by the mob; and shortly afterwards, affrighted and panic-stricken like the coward and bully that he was, ended his infamous life in the Tower. Of the ten judges then in office, not one was found worthy of being retained after the Revolution; and six of them were expressly excluded from the Act of Indemnity.

Technically, there was an Interregnum for three months; until the acceptance of the Crown by William and Mary on February 13, 1689. An informal assembly, or Convention, elected in the same manner as a Parliament, but without the customary issue of writs, met in London. There was much pedantic quibbling over words; as to whether James had "abdicated" or "deserted" the throne; as to whether it was actually vacant; as to the difference between a King *de jure* and *de facto*; and as to whether a Regency should be

formed; but the difficulties were at length surmounted. The Parliament of Scotland cut the matter short by affirming that he had forfeited the throne. A Declaration of Rights, drafted by a Committee of which that great jurist and patriot, Lord Somers (1650–1716), was chairman, was presented by both Houses of the Convention to William and Mary, who concurred in the constitutional principles enunciated in this famous document. It was the logical sequence of ancient Charters and of former struggles; and was based upon the Declaration by which the United Provinces of Holland asserted their freedom from Spain, in 1581; which also formed, a century later, a model for the Declaration of American Independence. It recited the illegal and arbitrary acts of the late King; and made an offer of the Crown to William and Mary, subject to certain defined limitations for the purpose of preserving the ancient rights and privileges of the people. The fatal blunder of an unconditional monarchy was not repeated, as at the Stuart Restoration. Among those who presented the document was Sergeant Maynard; then in his eighty-eighth year. When William congratulated him on having outlived so many rivals at the bar, the reply was,—"I had like to have outlived the law itself, had not your Highness come over." By a vote of both Houses, the Convention was declared to be a lawful Parliament. The 'Act for Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession to the Crown,' embodied and confirmed the Declaration of Rights, explicitly asserted the fundamental principles of a limited monarchy, and re-affirmed the historic privileges of the nation. Its will, as expressed through its chosen representatives, was enshrined in this State document; worthy to be grouped with the Grand Remonstrance, the Petition of Right, and the Great Charter and its numerous confirmations.

The Bill of Rights restored to the monarchy the position and the restricted powers which had been changed for the worse under the Tudors and Stuarts; and to the people their ancient liberties, which were clearly and boldly stated, in matters of elections, petitions, speech, jurors, open trial, and frequent meetings of Parliament.

The latter were secured by the necessity of passing an annual Mutiny Act; without which the Army must be disbanded. The royal revenue was fixed and apportioned, instead of voting enormous sums as heretofore, to be disbursed at the discretion of the monarch. The effect is succinctly stated by Hallam:—"The Lords of the Treasury, by a clause annually repeated in the Appropriation Act of every Session, are forbidden, under severe penalties, to order by their warrant any monies in the Exchequer so appropriated to be issued for any other purpose, and the officer of the Exchequer to obey any such warrant. This has given the House of Commons so effectual a control over the executive power, or, more truly speaking, has rendered it so much a participator in that power, that no administration can possibly subsist without its concurrence." The ancient constitutional principle of the Parliamentary title of the monarch was clearly recited and finally established, instead of the figment of Divine Right, or the plea of hereditary succession independent of the law, or the monstrous assertions of personal rule, as made by some of the Tudors and by all of the Stuarts. Ever since, the occupants of the English throne have ruled through their responsible advisers; directly accountable to the Legislature. By the simple process of stopping the Supplies, the administrative machinery can be brought to a stand. It is, however, a popular error to suppose that the national liberties were secured and established by the Revolution. They are of far more ancient date, as has been continually pointed out in preceding Chapters. It was always carefully insisted upon by its promoters, by its great advocate and defender, John Locke, and by Burke, its illustrious apologist in the next century, as being, above all things, a Revolution within the pale of the law and of the Constitution. All that the men of the Commonwealth had contended for was now substantially secured; which forms their ample vindication. Moreover, the whole history of English progress since the Revolution, on its moral and spiritual side, has been the history of Puritanism. Thus, after tremendous struggles, involving the expenditure of untold wealth and the sacrifice of innumerable lives, the doctrine that governments exist for the sake

of the governed, and are to be vindicated only by their utility, was affirmed, in spirit, if not in words. Constitutional changes in England have usually taken place gradually, and almost imperceptibly; like the great processes of Nature in the march of the Seasons. There has seldom been a sharp dividing line, a sudden wrench, or a formal new departure.

William III. occupies a worthy place among few real kings of men; yet, after the Revolution Settlement, he became, perhaps, the most unpopular of English monarchs. It was his misfortune to possess a phlegmatic and reserved temperament; although he was tenderly loved by those who knew him best. Like his ancestor, William the Silent, he was noted for taciturnity and reserve. He did not understand and he could not practise those arts by which shallow and selfish natures often earn for themselves a cheap popularity. The facile obsequiousness that attracts the unreflecting crowd is usually the mixed product of impudence and insincerity. A statesman and a general, with wide and penetrating vision, absorbed in great schemes for curbing the ambition of Louis XIV. of France, and for securing the liberties of Protestant Europe, William could not condescend to the pettiness and insularity of his new subjects. They failed to understand him, and became jealous and suspicious; while he was at a loss to account for their narrowness and prejudice. Burnet (1643–1715), who was intimate with him for sixteen years, has left on record a discriminating estimate of his character; and his worth was understood by Sir William Temple (1628–1698), the chief author of the Triple Alliance of January, 1668, and the promoter of the marriage between William and Mary. The new King was more fitted to save a nation than to adorn a Court. He had no sympathy with political hucksters and tricksters; eager only for places and emoluments. There is no alchemy by which golden conduct can be transmuted out of leaden instincts. In revenge, they ridiculed his lineage and thwarted his policy. His Dutch origin and his Dutch friends were the subjects of numberless lampoons; which provoked Defoe's nervous, caustic, and scathing satire of 'The True-Born Englishman.' It instantly became

popular, and effectually destroyed the cant against which it was directed.

The entire reign was harassed by faction. William's life was assailed by base plots of assassination by Jacobites; and his throne by projects of invasion by Louis XIV. Twenty-eight years of Stuart misrule, corruption, and waste in the public service had left their mark; and it was impossible to avoid giving offence to those who had profited by former abuses. From the palace, the chief seat of this pestilence, the taint had diffused itself through every office; producing feebleness, disorganization, and fraud. The evil crop was perennial, long after that generation passed away. Sir John Trevor (1633–1717) was an extreme type of the public men of the day. He was Master of the Rolls and Speaker of the House of Commons during the reign of James II., and contrived to retain those offices after the Revolution. He was so hideously cross-eyed that it was said of him,—"Justice is blind, but Equity squints in the Rolls Court"; for his physical infirmity was reproduced in his judicial conduct. This moral deflection led to his being expelled from the House in March, 1695, for accepting a bribe of one thousand guineas from the Corporation of London, to promote a local Bill. He had to put the motion that he had been guilty of high crime and misdemeanour, and to declare that it was unanimously carried. But he retained the patent office of the Mastership of the Rolls until his death, in 1717; "to the great encouragement," says Roger North, "of prudent bribery for ever after." Trevor was the worst of a numerous class of offenders; but chanced to be detected.

The religious question soon cropped up, as was inevitable. Stillingfleet (1635–1699), Dean of St. Paul's, and afterwards Bishop of Worcester, had published sermons and pamphlets on 'The Mischief and Unreasonableness of Separation.' He was answered by Baxter, Owen, Howe, and others. Then arose the wearisome Nonjurors' controversy, with collateral disputes about schism, and a great discussion on the Trinity. The Nonconformists were also torn by the Antinomian controversy, and the one that waged for years around the vexed question of Occasional Con-

formity. It is impossible to glance through the acres of printed matter issued on both sides of these disputes, or of the one provoked by the 'Heads of Agreement,' in 1691, with a view to secure a working union between the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists, and not be struck by the narrowness, the suspicion, and the ill-temper displayed. One of the opponents of comprehension, writing of a suggested scheme, said, with a free use of Italic type,—"It is no more than a *Verbal Composition*, or a number of Articles *industriously* and *designedly* framed with great *Ambiguity*, that Persons retaining their different Sentiments about the same Things might yet seem to Unite." The King, like Cromwell, favoured toleration to the utmost possible extent; but to this the majority of the Legislature and of the clergy were no more inclined than during the Commonwealth. Otherwise, England might have been spared a century and a half of persecution, arising from the attempted suppression of conscientious scruples and diversities in matters of religion.

An attempt was made in 1689 to carry a Comprehension Bill, embodying such changes in ritual and discipline as would satisfy moderate Nonconformists; most of whom, like the early Methodists, were willing and anxious to return to the bosom of the Church whence they had been driven forth. Howe, Bates, and other distinguished leaders, declined to take part in ordinations, because they would not perpetuate a schism, but hoped for comprehension. The Bill was designed to accomplish, in substance, all that Baxter and his friends had asked in 1662. The last clause was in the form of a petition for the appointment of a Royal Commission of thirty divines to revise the Liturgy and the Canons. Although the Bill was introduced at the special desire of the King by the Secretary of State, the Earl of Nottingham, and was supported by Compton, Bishop of London, and by other peers, the party of resistance was too strong, and succeeded in mutilating and rendering it inoperative. Burnet declares that Nottingham was disingenuous. A proposal to include laymen in the Commission was defeated. The truth is, however, that the time for comprehension had long passed by. The Tudor statesmen

and prelates left a legacy of difficulty and calamity, which was aggravated by the unhappy Uniformity Act of 1662. Five years later, Sir Matthew Hale and Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, had presented a workable scheme, but it was rejected. The Comprehension Bill was dropped, and with it the scheme for a reform of the Liturgy, prepared by the Royal Commission, which held eighteen sittings in October and November, 1689. The various modifications, five hundred and ninety-eight in all, dealing solely with matters of ritual, are contained in an interleaved copy of the Prayer Book, placed in the Lambeth Library by Archbishop Tillotson (1630–1694); then Dean of St. Paul's, and an active member of the Commission. It was printed among the Parliamentary Papers (No. 283) of 1854.

The project failed, although the more liberal Nonconformists and prelates, with the statesmen of the day, hailed it at first as a solution of all difficulties; urging, as Polycarp and Irenæus did in the second century, that those who agree in doctrine must not fall out for rites. The Upper House of Convocation was disposed to grant concessions; but the Lower House too faithfully represented the ignorance and narrowness of most of the inferior clergy. It was said at the time that the scheme would have brought back to the Church two-thirds of the Dissenters; and its defeat was a sore disappointment to Tillotson, Tenison, Burnet, Stillingfleet, Patrick, and the liberal section, who were prepared to show a conciliatory spirit, and wished the Church to be conterminous with the nation. South, of whom Tillotson said that he wrote like a man but bit like a dog, rejoiced, in one of his sermons, that the rabble were excluded, and the thief prevented from obtaining an easy entrance by the Church door. No concessions would be made by Convocation, and that body remained silent and inoperative for ten years. It had no wisdom or breadth, and would not be guided or controlled. Tillotson's nature was gentle and tolerant. He held that charity is above rubrics. William III. declared there was no man more honest, nor had he ever a better friend. The literature of the time abounds with expressions of respect for his character and of admiration for his sermons.

They were favourites with Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley; and the 'Tatler' regarded him as the most eminent and useful author of his age. Yet the Nonjurors pursued him with unrelenting vindictiveness; charging him with being an Arian, a Socinian, and a Deist; and calling him Undipped John, from a supposed informality in his baptism; an intruder, a robber, and an ecclesiastical usurper. But they could not provoke his meek spirit to retaliate. His sermons in Lincoln's Inn attracted the most learned and accomplished persons of the time, and their publication established his fame. Dryden said that he learned English prose from his style. Addison thought to compile a dictionary from his writings. Strange to say, Hume avowedly founds his 'Essay on Miracles' upon Tillotson's favourite argument against Transubstantiation; that it is contrary to the testimony of most of the senses, whereas the evidence in its favour can rest only on one. Anthony Collins (1676–1729) spoke of him as one whom all English freethinkers own as their head; not that he in any way shared their opinions, but because they made use of his methods of argument. It was Collins who said, sarcastically, that nobody doubted the existence of the Deity until the Boyle lecturers undertook to prove it. Tillotson filled his high office of Archbishop only for three years and a half. He was succeeded by Thomas Tenison (1636–1715), Bishop of Lincoln; a man of like gentle and generous spirit.

A feeble scheme of legal indulgence to Dissenters, a narrow, partial, and jealously-worded concession, dates from 1689. It is commonly styled the Toleration Act, and is sometimes lauded as the Great Charter of Religious Liberty. True, it spiked some pieces of ecclesiastical ordnance; but it was done, not from inherent justice and as a citizen right, but as a favour, and on the mere ground of expediency. Certain persons who worshipped elsewhere than in the regulation places and according to the regulation patterns were tolerated, as a matter of sufferance, provided that they were willing to subscribe most of the Thirty-nine Articles, and to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. They were also required to pay all clerical dues; as were Roman

Catholics, and all who denied the doctrine of the Trinity, but who were expressly excluded from the Act. The former remained beyond the civil pale until 1829; Unitarians until 1813; and Jews until 1858. Nor did this appear strange, inconsistent, or unjust in the eyes of orthodox Nonconformists, who, throughout that century, as many of them do now, vainly imagined that subscription to some doctrinal schedule, couched in archaic legal forms, is essential to the maintenance of religion. Even John Locke drew the line above Atheists and Romanists. A large-hearted and intelligent man like Defoe, who had spent his life and suffered much in asserting the right to Toleration, would not include any "who denied the essentials of Christianity," that is, who did not entirely agree with him. Such a proviso excluded Socinians, Anabaptists, and even Quakers. But the latter were required by the Act to do no more than declare adherence to the Government; to abjure Transubstantiation; and to profess belief in the Trinity and in the Inspiration of the Bible. The result was that, within two years, licenses were taken out for one hundred and eighteen permanent places of worship for this body, and for one hundred and thirty-one temporary places; sixty-four being in Lancashire. The total number of Nonconformist places licensed within the same period was nine hundred and thirty-nine. During the next ten years it rose to twenty-four hundred and eighteen.

Thus Toleration was extorted without obtaining equality. The principle of the Establishment, however, was thereby abandoned for ever. The Church ceased to be national, in fact, by the rigid enforcement of subscription that led to the Great Ejectment in 1662. Henceforth, it could not claim to be national, even in name. The divergence between the High and Low sections became more marked and strained. The old persecuting spirit survived, but it had to be satisfied with comparatively impotent legislation, or with exhibitions of social insolence and exclusiveness. So late as the year 1697, a man named Aikenhead was condemned and executed in Scotland for profane language uttered to the Edinburgh students. In England, sceptical works were sometimes burned by the hangman; which probably

served to advertise them: and there were occasional instances of fine, the pillory, or imprisonment inflicted upon their writers, whose notoriety was thereby assured. Men in that age did not perceive the futility of seeking to defend the Gospel by measures like an Act of 1698, which was intended to uphold what were regarded as orthodox opinions, but which remained a dead letter until its repeal in 1813.

John Asgill was expelled from the Irish House of Commons in 1703, and from the English one in 1707, and was financially ruined, for writing an eccentric book designed to prove that men might be translated without dying; which the sapient orthodoxy of that age chose to regard as blasphemous. William Whiston, translator of Josephus, and Lucasian Professor of Mathematics, was expelled from his chair and from Cambridge University, in 1711, for Arianism. The hare-brained Thomas Woolston, who would now be regarded as a harmless lunatic, or treated with silent contempt, was fined one hundred pounds and imprisoned in 1729; nominally for his absurd interpretation of Scripture miracles, but chiefly for ironical attacks on some of the bishops and clergy. Peter Annet, a link between the older deistical school and Tom Paine, was pilloried and imprisoned in 1762 for vulgar and insulting language about Christianity. There have been similar prosecutions, at intervals, since that time; the most recent being the case of George Jacob Holyoake, who was imprisoned for six months in 1842 for alleged heresy or irreligion; of a half-witted and ignorant man, who was sentenced in 1857, by Mr. Justice Coleridge, at the Bodmin Assizes, for an offence under the Blasphemy Laws; and of G. W. Foote and two others, who were imprisoned in 1883 under the same Acts, after a trial before Mr. Justice North, whose interruptions and summing-up aroused severe and deserved criticism. The latest similar instance in America occurred in Massachusetts, in 1834, when a journalist was imprisoned for three months, for having advocated atheistical opinions. Dr. W. E. Channing and other influential persons, while disavowing all sympathy with the views propounded, and with the offensive language chosen, urged a remission of the sentence in

language worthy of Milton's 'Areopagitica.' Though the petition did not gain its immediate end, future prosecutions of the kind were rendered impossible.

Another measure was carried in 1695, enacting that the solemn affirmation of Quakers should be regarded as equivalent to an oath in legal cases; giving them, for the first time, the power of protecting their property against fraudulent attacks; and delivering them from petty annoyance at the hands of malicious informers and ignorant justices. Relief was also afforded in the mode of levying tithes, by giving jurisdiction to two justices, instead of subjecting Quakers—who always refused payment on conscientious grounds—to the costly and tedious litigation of the higher Courts. In spite of this, however, such proceedings were not infrequently taken, avowedly to punish recusants and to deter others by the exorbitant costs; often as much as fifty times the amount of the claim. But the Test and Corporation Acts remained in full force. Hence no Nonconformist was eligible for civil offices; contrary to the expressed wish of King William, who would have admitted all able and willing to serve. This was not to be. For nearly a century and a half clerical intolerance triumphed. The loyalty of the Nonconformists was unquestionable; while of the loyalty of the Church there were grave doubts; yet the former were ostracized. True, their existence could no longer be prevented; but pains were taken to make their civil and social status as low as possible, and to compel a surrender of a large portion of their rights as citizens. John Locke issued, in 1689, the first of his noble 'Letters concerning Toleration'; written in a garret in Holland, whither he had to flee during the Stuart despotism. They exhibit the same enlightened and liberal views which had been advocated by Jeremy Taylor, and are worthy successors of Milton's magnificent arguments and appeals; basing the plea upon reason and equity; supporting its claims by history, by experience, by Scripture, and by conscience; and dealing with the subject on the lofty ground of philosophy and patriotism, in a manner worthy of the author of the 'Essay on the Understanding.' He spoke to deaf ears. His 'Essay,' begun twenty years before, appeared in 1690, and instantly became famous

It marks an epoch in the history of philosophy, though Coleridge maintained that the system pre existed in the writings of Descartes, in a more pure and elegant form. The design is to clear away the rubbish of scholastic phraseology and baseless theories; and to show that truth is only to be found by the exercise of observation and of common sense. He repudiates any instinctive sources of knowledge or ideas; but maintains that they are derived from the twofold experience of Sensation and Reflection. His political writings expound the principles of the Glorious Revolution, and may be regarded as a formal defence of Whiggism. Yet Locke nowhere opposes the principle of a State Church. He simply advocates freedom; but with the reservations already mentioned. Even the gentle-spirited Tillotson, preaching before the House of Commons, said that their duty was to make effectual provision against Popery, which was more mischievous than irreligion itself.

CHAPTER LXIII.

PROTESTANT ASCENDENCY IN IRELAND.

A.D. 1689–1702.

The Oath of Allegiance, ordered by the Legislature to be taken before August 1, 1689, merely promised loyalty to William and Mary, omitting the old phrase about their being true and lawful sovereigns. It was accepted without demur by nearly all the clergy, but was a stumbling-block to those who remained Jacobites at heart. Only about four hundred refused the oath, and declined to offer publicly what they called the "immoral prayers" for the King and Queen. Among them were Sancroft and eight of his suffragans; including four who had been sent to the Tower by James II. They had strenuously opposed the offer of the Crown to William and Mary; from an exaggerated notion of its inalienability. They were left unmolested in the enjoyment of their palaces and emoluments until the early part of 1691, though

their functions ceased to be exercised ; but at that time they were deprived of their offices, because some of them were in secret correspondence with James, to effect his restoration by means of a French army. Then they renounced communion with their old associates, and attempted to set up a schism ; claiming to be the true episcopate, wrongfully dispossessed. Among the ablest were William Law, the Mystic ; Jeremy Collier ; Thomas Carte, the historian ; and George Hickes, Dean of Worcester, author of the 'Thesaurus,' who relinquished his offices and was chosen by his associates as Bishop of Thetford. Robert Nelson, Henry Dodwell, and others, returned to the communion of the English Church after the decease of Ken, the last of the Nonjuring prelates. This mock succession of imaginary and spurious bishops, like the great schism between two sets of rival Popes three hundred years previously, lingered in a flickering and undignified manner for more than a century ; but the supposed benefits of episcopal succession do not appear to have been in the slightest degree affected. Hundreds of books and pamphlets issued in connection with this pitiful and fruitless controversy have long since passed into merited oblivion.

The whole scruple of the Nonjurors was about the title of King. They were prepared to take the regal power from James II. and bestow it upon William as Regent. Frederick Denison Maurice said, in his incisive but indiscriminating manner, that their theory of the civil power was an absolute king, money-bags, and a hangman. It certainly tended to the political enslavement of the country, and sapped the foundations of the Constitution. Yet the Nonjurors were animated by an intensely religious spirit, if it was prejudiced, ignorant, and troublesome in its political form. So far as they suffered for conscience' sake, and had the courage to abide by their belief, they are worthy of respect ; but this cannot be awarded to those of the clergy who, under a subterfuge, took the oaths in order to keep their places—as their predecessors had done repeatedly under the Tudors—and who continued to intrigue against the Government, and read the prayers for the new Sovereigns in a manner and with an intonation understood in an opposite sense.

According to Burnet, "the prevarication of too many in so sacred a matter contributed not a little to fortify the growing atheism of the age." He adds that William's "indifference to forms of Church government, and his being zealous for Toleration, together with his cold behaviour towards the clergy, gave them generally very ill impressions of him." No thanks to them that the constitutional settlement of 1688 was not overthrown, or that numerous Jacobite plots were frustrated. By a kind of poetical justice, they were required once a year to lead their flocks in the utterance of devout thanksgiving for the deliverance of the Church and nation from Popish tyranny and arbitrary power. At the same time, the incongruity was observed of retaining the services of humiliation for the martyrdom of Charles I. and for the Restoration of his graceless son. No difficulty was experienced in supplying the places of the Nonjuring prelates. Then, as both before and since, politics and Court influence mainly determined the appointments.

The House of Commons resolved, April 15, 1689, on an address to the Throne, with an assurance of hearty support whenever it was deemed fitting to declare war against France, whose vast power and ceaseless intrigues were a menace to Europe. Louis XIV., knowing that a confederation of the Northern Powers would be formed to check his ambitious plans, had wantonly caused the Lower Palatinate to be devastated during the previous Winter, for the second time, under circumstances of peculiar atrocity, in order that supplies might not be furnished to the Germans, and to wreak his vengeance upon the Protestants. He signed a decree that the country was to be made a desert. Fiendish cruelties were inflicted; similar to those experienced by the French Huguenots during the Dragonnades of 1684, and at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Half a million of people are said to have been ejected, or to have expatriated themselves, to escape the gibbet, the wheel, the stake, or the diabolical tortures which Elie Benoit (1640–1728) narrates in horrible detail. All who could escape, found refuge in England, Holland and America; carrying with them, like the other Huguenots, habits of industry, sobriety, and thrift, and enriching the people who gave

them an asylum. In the cry that arose for vengeance, England loudly joined; as she had done thirty years before, when Cromwell so effectually interposed on behalf of the persecuted Vaudois. It was not alone a protest against the outrages in the Palatinate, but the indignant recollection of how the last two English monarchs had meanly sold themselves to the ambitious and unscrupulous Louis XIV.

James arrived in the harbour of Kinsale on the twelfth of March, with thirty-seven French vessels and five thousand French soldiers. His titular Viceroy, the Duke of Tyrconnel, a bigoted Roman Catholic, had the whole of the three Southern Provinces on his side. Such of the Protestants as he had not disarmed, imprisoned, or ruined, were shut up in Londonderry and Enniskillen. Then ensued the famous siege of Derry, greater than that of Troy; with the heroic defence and ultimate relief, after one hundred and five days of extreme suffering. A mock Parliament was held under James in Dublin, but the Exchequer was empty, and all attempts to replenish it by confiscation and plunder, and by a sweeping Act of Attainder against some thousands of persons, utterly failed. The coinage was debased. The plate of Trinity College, Dublin, was appropriated. Trade, commerce, agriculture, and industry were at a stand. Disputes and wrangles broke out among his adherents. The Duke of Schomberg (1619–1690), half-German, half-English, one of the ablest military adventurers of that day, who had sold his services to the Prussians, French, and Portuguese, successively, and had fought both for and against William, was sent over with ten thousand men, hastily levied with much difficulty, and imperfectly armed and equipped. He landed in Antrim in August, 1689, but could do nothing, owing to the inefficiency of his troops and to the outbreak of disease; so he took up Winter quarters in the towns and villages of Ulster. William himself arrived in Carrickfergus in the following June; having been hampered by the French war in the Netherlands, which detained most of his troops. It was both a military and a political blunder to have two campaigns at the same time. He reached Drogheda on the last day of that month. The army of James was encamped on

the opposite bank of the Boyne, and a famous and decisive battle was fought near Oldridge on the first of July. William's great victory was dearly purchased by the death of Schomberg ; who was shot in mistake by some of his own troops. It was also tempered by the French naval victory on the preceding day over the combined English and Dutch fleets off Beachy Head ; but, fortunately, the French were unprepared to follow it up by an invasion of England. Such things are not so easy as military alarmists and swaggerers imagine.

Without waiting for the issue, James fled to Kinsale, escorted by French cavalry, and embarked on board a French ship for Brest ; whence he had sailed sixteen months before with much pomp and inflated expectations. He again took up his abode at St. Germains as a pensioner of France, and continued there until his death in 1701 ; despised by those who sheltered him, and execrated by most of his late subjects : one of the most signal instances of monarchs who have failed in business. William marched upon Dublin and secured the castle ; and thence to Waterford, which capitulated ; but the final stand at Limerick was not overcome until October, 1691, long after he had returned to England, and after Marlborough had taken Cork and Kinsale. A specimen from one of his letters will serve to show the acquirements in orthography possessed by gentlemen in his day ; for Marlborough was by no means singular in this respect :—"If I had not bene very much disappointed by the Canon, I should have by this time have bene mier master of this place, which now we must have patience for on eight days longer, for the Canon will not be here till to-moroe, and then you may be ashured that ther shall be noe time lost. . . . I send you a letter I recived last night from M. de Genkle, which I desier you will show the king, soe that his majistie may see they think itt necessarie to have some ships." By the Treaty of Limerick, the Irish were to enjoy the same privileges with respect to religion as they had done in the time of Charles II., and to be reinstated in their property and rights on taking the oath of allegiance to William and Mary.

The worst and saddest outcome of this insensate

Jacobite attempt was the inauguration, in flagrant disregard of the above Treaty, of Protestant ascendency in Ireland, by means of the Penal Code. It required, indeed, according to Lecky, "four or five reigns to elaborate a system so ingeniously contrived to demoralize, to degrade, and to impoverish the people of Ireland." Concerning this, Burke ironically remarks :—"It was a complete system ; full of coherence and consistency ; well-digested and well-composed in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and deliberate contrivance ; and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man." He contrasts the operation of the Revolution in England and in Ireland. In the former country, it was a struggle of the great body of the people for the establishment of their liberties against the efforts of a very small faction of oppressors ; whereas, in Ireland, it was the assertion of the power of the smaller number, at the expense of the civil liberties and property of by far the greater part, and at the expense of the political liberties of the whole. Persecution and ostracism of Catholics, commenced a century before, were carried out to the fullest extent. Superadded to this was a spirit of revenge for what was being done to Protestants on the Continent. The policy served equally the purposes of religious fanaticism, of political rancour, and of territorial greed. William III. was no bigot ; but the ruling class thwarted his good intentions ; and, moreover, he was chiefly occupied with Continental affairs. The eternal odium mainly attaches to the Whigs.

Some of the articles of the Penal Code are absurd and outrageous. It stands as a terrible monument of the cruelty and vileness into which men may be led when religious bigotry degenerates into diabolical hatred, and when they persuade themselves that the indulgence of malignant passions towards their fellow-men is acceptable to God. It was a Code of degradation and proscription ; religious, political, and social. Ireland was treated as a subjugated country, and its people were trampled upon and insulted by the

victors, and were denied, not only any participation in the government, but the enjoyment of the elementary rights of citizens. They were placed under a ban of universal disqualification. A little junto distributed among themselves and their followers all the honours and patronage of the State, and grasped the emoluments derived from the taxation and robbery of their helpless victims. The Protestants, including the Presbyterians, numbered less than one-seventh of the population. They had enriched themselves by forfeitures and fraud; yet they compelled the six-sevenths, being Catholics, and for the most part poor, to support a dominant Church which they believed to be heretical, and which was a badge and an instrument of subjection. Cattle, sheep, wool, and dairy-produce might not be exported to England; nor could any goods be brought direct from the Colonies to Ireland. Not more than two apprentices might be taken, except in the linen trade. Some of these Acts, intended to crush native industry, had been passed twenty years or more prior to the Revolution of 1688; a few were of much earlier origin, and others were enacted at the beginning of the eighteenth century for a similar purpose. The industries of Ireland were prohibited and ruined; and then the people were calumniated for being idle; just as the Jews were by their Egyptian taskmasters.

The Penal Code, by proscribing, robbing, and humiliating the Catholics, at once ministered to the cupidity of the ruling minority, and ensured a continuance of power. Under the provisions of that drastic series of measures, worthy of a Torquemada or an Alva, and awakening horror and indignation by their ferocity, Catholics in Ireland were denied the right to educate their children at home by one of their own faith; and yet, with a refinement of cruelty, they were prohibited, under penalty of forfeiting all their goods and chattels, and of perpetual outlawry, from sending them abroad for education. For a Catholic to teach in a private family, or as usher in a Protestant school, was felony. The national Universities and other gates of knowledge were closed and barred against them; and then they were taunted with being ignorant. They were deprived

of the guardianship of their own children ; and if the latter, however young, were induced to declare themselves Protestants, they could at once, as wards in Chancery, demand the fee simple of their fathers' estates. A wife who apostatized could leave her husband and claim a portion of his property. No lease could be held for a term of more than thirty-one years. If a farm yielded a profit greater than one-third of the rent, any Protestant might seize it. Land might not be purchased, or money lent on mortgage by Catholics. Those in business were subject to the special tax of quarterage. Their houses could be appropriated as free billets by the Militia. They could not succeed to the property of Protestant relatives. No horse could be kept of more than five pounds in value, and any Protestant offering that sum might enforce a sale. Intermarriages with Protestants were forbidden. Any priest officiating at such marriages was to be hanged.

Catholics were excluded from the learned professions, from the shrievalty, from every civil office of trust and profit, from all corporate privileges, from the magistracy, and from the Legislature. They were denied the Parliamentary franchise, or even a vote in a parish vestry ; nor could they become freemen of a municipality. The possession of arms was forbidden, and any justice could issue a search-warrant, night or day. They could not act as constables, or jurymen, as gamekeepers or watchmen, or serve in the Army or Navy. A sacramental test, to which it was known they could not conscientiously submit, was imposed, expressly to disqualify them from every public post, however insignificant ; and the oath of abjuration was perpetually and capriciously administered. Their bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries were banished. Their priests had to be registered, and were forbidden to leave their parishes. Only a certain number were allowed ; and unlicensed priests were deported ; under penalty of branding on the cheek, and then of death, if they returned. A priest abjuring his religion received a pension from the Government, of from twenty to thirty pounds, as the reward of his apostasy. The whole system was designed to foment family discord, to snap the most sacred and tender ties,

and to reward hypocrisy. Yet, to their honour, few such instances are recorded. To convert a Protestant to Catholicism was a capital offence. The chapels might not have bells or steeples, and no crosses might be publicly erected. Observance of religious festivals not sanctioned by the Government was punishable by heavy fines. Pilgrimages to the holy wells were forbidden. All advowsons to Protestant livings held by Catholic laymen reverted to the Crown. It is not surprising that the Anglican Church did nothing in Ireland, either for religion or for civilization. It never made genuine converts; where fervent and unselfish Protestantism might have produced an impression and exercised an influence like that of the preacher delineated in Francis Newman's 'Phases of Faith.'

In the case of alleged offences against this Penal Code, half the mulct went to the informer. The burden of disproof was thrown upon the accused; in flagrant violation of one of the elementary rules of law. Any attempt to obtain from the Courts redress for injustice or wrong was certain to be met, both by persecutors and judges, with the religious difficulty, for the purpose of arousing prejudice. The fact of the complainant being a Catholic was held to be a presumption against him. Thus he was reduced to the condition of a helot, for the avowed purpose of crushing and ruining him. The atrocious system, inaugurated in 1692, was aggravated by subsequent Acts of Parliament, especially by two passed in 1703 and in 1709, creating fresh offences and imposing heavier penalties. The former was a Test Act, almost as severe against Protestant Dissenters as against Catholics; while no Toleration Act, as in England, mitigated the severity. With its enforcement, a rapid emigration set in to America, and paved the way for the War of Independence seventy years later, in which the Scotch-Irish colonists took a leading part. With those who remained in Ireland, both Catholics and Dissenters, the system prevailed, so far as such a crusade against an entire people could be carried on without provoking civil war, during the whole of the eighteenth century, and for some time into the nineteenth, though its excessive savagery made it gradually

inoperative. Restrictions less malignant, but still severe and unjust, were also imposed upon English Catholics, who were deprived of civil rights, and persecuted in a variety of ways. The spirit of recent legislation has been, on the whole, one of justice and mercy towards Ireland ; atoning, in some measure, for previous cruelty and wrong. Yet it is impossible to deny that along the whole line of English policy in that country, the war has been one not only of creed but of race. Hallam says,—"To have exterminated the Catholics by the sword, or to have expelled them like the Moriscos of Spain, would have been little more repugnant to justice and humanity, but incomparably more politic." Swift grimly suggested that four-fifths of the children born should be fattened and sold for ten shillings each ; this kind of food "being very proper for landlords, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, have the best title to the children." The severity of the persecution of the Catholics of Ireland by the Protestants equalled, if it did not exceed, that of the ten historic persecutions of the primitive Christian Church.

An incidental but grave difficulty arose out of the Irish campaign. Enormous estates were declared forfeited ; in pursuance of the policy of five hundred years. William III., when thanking Parliament for a generous Supply, volunteered an assurance that it should be consulted in the bestowal of the land. After a time, ugly rumours arose, and a lengthened investigation took place. It was found that out of more than a million of Irish acres, said to be worth two hundred thousand pounds per annum, grants had been made under the Great Seal to the King's Dutch favourites and others. Bentinck, Duke of Portland, had 135,280 acres ; the Earl of Albemarle 103,033 ; Lord Romney 49,517 ; with varying but large grants to other persons. The report raised a storm when presented to Parliament, December 6, 1699. There was a threat of resuming all grants of land and pensions made during the previous sixteen years, and devoting them to the public use. A personal collision with the King appeared inevitable, through the unwise course taken by some of his own friends ; when his good sense and magnanimity ended the crisis. Like

all true rulers of men, he knew when to yield, and how to do so with grace. He caused it to be intimated that he wished the Resumption Bill to pass; yet he keenly felt the rebuke, which showed, however, that arbitrary action like that of Henry VIII. in dividing the spoil was no longer possible with the free English people.

The nominal Union of Scotland with England under James I. had not secured a real union of the two nations; and the unwise attempts of the Stuarts to force Episcopacy had induced sullen resentment. Black Prelacy was hated as much as ever; for the old Covenanting spirit, if quelled, was not broken. On the other hand, the ancient intolerance of the rigid Presbyterians, with their impossible ideals, was not one whit abated. They hoped to see revived the palmy days of their Kirk. To this William would not consent. He did not believe in the divinity of any particular form of ecclesiastical polity; but thought that circumstances must determine the choice. His own views were broad, not to say latitudinarian; and he differed from extreme men of all parties. If a compromise could not be effected, so as to decide the vexed question in Scotland, he was willing to suffer both Episcopalians and Presbyterians, but without giving to either the power to persecute. This luxury he was resolved to deny; as he plainly intimated in a letter to the General Assembly:—"We never could be of the mind that violence was suited to the advancing of true religion, nor do we intend that our authority shall ever be a tool to the irregular passions of any party. Moderation is what religion enjoins; what neighbouring Churches expect from you; and what we recommend to you." There is a ring of Cromwell's style in this communication. The initial trouble arose with the semi-savage Highlanders, who flourished by plunder and anarchy, and among whom James had many adherents. Attempts were made to propitiate them by gifts of money, and when these failed, it was sought to put down their turbulence and lawlessness by force. Some of the agents chosen were unfortunate and dishonourable. They used their official position for personal ends. Old feuds of families and of clans had been transmitted from one generation to another, with all the relentlessness of the Corsican vendetta; leading to terrible scenes. The

worst was the massacre and pillage of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, early in 1692. They had submitted to the Government; but the fact was deliberately suppressed by their rivals and enemies. It is an awful story; though, as in the case of Herod and the Innocents, the number is exaggerated or left vague. Forty-eight were slaughtered in cold blood, and nearly three hundred are said to have perished from hunger and exposure. The King and his immediate advisers in London cannot be exonerated, in spite of the special pleading of Macaulay and of other Whig apologists, by casting the blame upon Dalrymple of Stair and other instruments in Scotland.

While the campaign was proceeding in Ireland, under Schomberg, active preparations were being made to commence hostilities against France. On October 2, 1690, Parliament voted upwards of four millions for the purpose. Burnet calls this "the vastest sum that ever a King of England had asked of his people." In the following January, William went to the Hague, to meet the representatives of the leading powers in the great Coalition of which he was the head and soul. During the years of its continuance, incessant demands were made upon his patience, skill, resources, and statesmanship. He had to exercise constant vigilance and tact in order to maintain, in the face of mutual suspicion and rivalry, the barrier he was determined to erect against the inroads of France. Before he could take the field, the important fortress of Mons, in the Spanish Netherlands, surrendered to the French, to escape the horrors of capture; but the subsequent defeat of the French fleet in the great naval battle of La Hogue, on May 19, 1692, was a signal check to the invasion schemes of Louis XIV. He was besieging Namur, in Belgium, at that time; and in August the drawn battle of Steinkirk took place. There were other engagements on sea and land, with varying results. The graphic description by Corporal Trim, in Sterne's 'Tristram Shandy,' must have been derived from eyewitnesses. William's task was beset with difficulties, arising from disputes among his Allies; from Jacobite plots at home; and, most of all, from the enormous expenses of the war. The great increase of taxation gave rise to much complaint and

hardship. A fixed tax of two shillings on houses was imposed; in lieu of a like sum on every hearth and fireplace, which had been exacted since 1662 under the name of hearth-money. A higher rate than two shillings was levied upon houses having more than ten windows. The light of heaven continued to be thus taxed until the year 1851. The avowed object of the house-duty was to provide for loss on the clipping of coin under the last two Stuarts. A tax of four pounds and upwards was laid upon hawkers and pedlars, according to the number of beasts of burden used. Considerable additions were made to the Excise; especially on beer and spirits. More obnoxious still, the tax on salt, originally imposed under the Commonwealth, was enormously raised, and continued down to 1825. Various Customs' duties were also increased; and special levies were made on coal, glass, and other articles.

The landed interest, then and long after dominant in the Legislature, contrived to evade its proper share of the public burdens, at the expense of the people at large. For a century and a half after the Conquest the whole of the revenue of the country was derived from taxes upon land, which yielded nineteen-twentieths for another like period. It fell to nine-tenths a century later; and continued to diminish until at the time of the Revolution it was only a fourth. Yet a new arrangement was made in 1692, whereby the then-existing value of land was fixed in perpetuity as the basis of the tax; thus defrauding the revenue of the benefit accruing from the enormous increase in value in subsequent years. Before the end of the century, it was settled by Act of Parliament that a sum of nearly half-a-million should be raised as Land-Tax by apportionment on the various counties. The plan was continued until 1798, when Pitt, under the form of a redeemable rent-charge, made the tax perpetual, at four shillings in the pound on the capital value as this stood a century earlier. Thus, in consideration of a sum of about two millions annually paid, in lieu of the old feudal duties and charges, landowners contrived to escape all further direct liability. They also evaded until 1853 the payment of Succession Duty on real estate; and even then, when forced to submit

foisted in a scheme whereby they paid much less in proportion than was levied on personal property. Nor was the injustice wholly remedied by the Act of 1894. There has been a further downward tendency since 1692, so that at the present time the Land Tax, including the whole of the Property Tax on Lands and Tenements, yields less than one-twentieth of the public revenue ; in spite of the enormous increase of land values.

A crushing domestic calamity befell the King three days prior to the close of the year 1694, in the death of his wife, in the thirty-third year of her age, from the terrible disease of small-pox, that so frequently swept like a scourge over Europe, sparing neither high nor low. Burnet says that William was overwhelmed with sorrow, although his marital fidelity was far from irreproachable. In her memory, and in pursuance of her wish, he instructed Sir Christopher Wren greatly to enlarge the royal palace at Greenwich, for the purposes of a hospital for sailors of the Navy ; and he liberally endowed it. He also finished the companion hospital at Chelsea, for soldiers ; commenced in the time of Charles II., traditionally, at the request of his mistress, Nell Gwyn, the actress. The real founder was Sir Stephen Fox (1627-1716), Paymaster of the Forces during three years, and grandfather of Charles James Fox. How much Charles II. contributed is not known, but his munificence was usually of a cheap kind, at others' expense. On the death of Queen Mary, the Jacobites pretended that William had no remaining title to the Crown, which, they said, ought to devolve at once upon the Princess Anne. The event proved that his position was never more secure ; and so the hopes of the faction at the mock Court of St. Germains were frustrated. Six years later, the untimely death, at the age of eleven, of the Duke of Gloucester, the only one of the seventeen children of Princess Anne and of Prince George of Denmark who survived infancy, and the fact of William and Mary having no issue, led to the passing of the Act of Settlement in 1701. The Crown was thereby devolved upon the Electress Sophia of Hanover, granddaughter of James I., and upon her children. Her elder brothers and sisters, being Roman Catholics, were

ineligible. Her own Protestantism was of a flaccid type Being asked what was the religion of her daughter, a girl of thirteen, the reply was that she had none, as yet, for "we are waiting to know what prince she is to marry, and when that is determined, she will be instructed in the religion of her future husband"; a maxim that has been observed in recent years with Anglo-German princesses marrying into the royal family of Russia. Her niece, the second wife of the Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV., went through a similar process of conversion. Three bishops were sent to meet her on the frontier, but they did not agree among themselves as to the grounds of belief; so she sarcastically relates that she pursued an eclectic system, taking a little from each, and framing a creed that passed muster. She went to Mass every week, "but that does not deprive me of the edifying consolation of the Lutheran prayers."

Thus a new royal line was once more created by the will of Parliament, as representing the nation. To confirm and strengthen the provisions of the Bill of Rights, eight articles were embodied in the Act of Settlement, providing that future Sovereigns must be in communion with the Church of England; that the defence of their foreign possessions should not be engaged in by England without Parliamentary sanction, nor might they leave the country without such consent; that no alien should be of the Privy Council, or a member of either House of Parliament, or hold any office, or trust, or gift; that no official or pensioner should sit in the House of Commons; that judges should be appointed during good behaviour, on fixed salaries, and removable on an address of both Houses; and that no pardon under the Great Seal be pleaded in bar to impeachments. Some of the above provisions were modified or repealed in the course of a few years; but most of them remained in force, and proved to be salutary. One significant addition was made by the Tory landed interest in 1711, when a property qualification was set up for members of the House of Commons. It was then enacted that no one should represent a county unless he had real estate producing six hundred pounds per annum; or a borough, unless he had half that amount. This measure was not

repealed until 1858, after many severe struggles ; though it had been repeatedly evaded by colourable transfers of property during the occupancy of a seat in the Legislature.

One circumstance that frustrated the hopes of the Jacobites on the death of Mary, in 1694, and that ensured to her husband peaceable occupancy of the throne, was that success had crowned his energy and perseverance on the Continent. He recaptured Namur from the French, in August, 1695, though it had been strongly fortified by Sebastian Vauban (1633-1707), the most renowned military engineer of that age. The struggle continued with varying results until the Spring of 1697, when Louis XIV. made overtures for peace ; offering to relinquish all conquests made during the war, and to acknowledge the existing English government. The result, on September 20, was the treaty of Ryswick ; so called from the village between the Hague and Delft, where the negotiations were carried on. There were great rejoicings in London and throughout the country. A solemn day of thanksgiving was observed on the second of December, when the new cathedral of St. Paul's, erected after the Great Fire, was first opened for worship. The protracted duration of such campaigns, as in the Middle Ages, is explained by the fact that the troops always went into Winter quarters ; so that the actual operations were confined to less than half of each year, and were only then carried on in a stately and ceremonious fashion, according to rules laid down by tradition and usage, very much like a military promenade or minuet. It was at this time that the Czar Peter I., commonly called the Great (1672-1725), spent some months in London and in Deptford, working in the dockyard, and collecting information and agents for the plans he had formed in Russia, partly for its development, but chiefly to gratify his own ambition, and to prepare for his long-meditated attack on Sweden. Evelyn records in his 'Diary,' that he let his house at Sayes Court, Deptford, to Peter, who left it in such a condition that Evelyn obtained a hundred and fifty pounds as compensation from the Lords of the Treasury. Never was there such a compound of boorishness, savagery, and lust, with thirst after knowledge, and a genius for governing. He initiated a policy that yielded terrible fruit during the century.

Almost the first use made in Parliament of the Peace of Ryswick was to compel a reduction of the Army, and especially to send out of the country the regiments of French Huguenots and the Dutch Guards. This, with other mortifications connected with the revenue, extorted from the King an expression of regret at having interfered in the affairs of a people whom he regarded as ungrateful and suspicious. Disappointed hopes are often fatal to generous ideals. He is even reported to have threatened to follow his Guards to the Continent, and to return no more to this country. It was natural that he should resent the separation from a body of tried and faithful soldiers who had bravely fought under him for years in Holland, in Flanders, and in Ireland, and also that he should have felt their number to be too inconsiderable to furnish cause for alarm to the English. On the other hand, there was a strong and justifiable dread of a standing army, which might become the instrument of despotism; although the danger was minimized, if not removed, by the provisions of the Bill of Rights; by the annual Mutiny Act; and by the necessity for obtaining votes of money from the Legislature. The effect was to disband all troops raised since 1680; thereby reducing them to ten thousand men; the annual expenditure being fixed at three hundred and fifty thousand pounds. William submitted to the inevitable, though he was far from acquiescing in the arrangement. Graver matters demanded his attention. Charles II. of Spain, the last of the Austrian line, had long been imbecile, and was dying, in 1700, at the age of thirty-eight; a victim to the unnatural system of attempting to establish powerful dynasties by the constant intermarriage of a few families in defiance of the elementary laws of physiology. His sister was the wife of Louis XIV. of France, and the Emperor Leopold was the son of Charles' aunt. Both of these monarchs had renounced any rights to Spain in virtue of such relationship. Louis, however, was intriguing to increase his family power by the absorption of a large part of the Spanish dominions, in both hemispheres, and this eventually plunged Europe into the War of the Spanish Succession, that lasted ten years.

Parliament was divided in opinion as to the new

Coalition formed by William ; but the country at large was unmistakably in its favour. In the Session held in the Summer of 1701, a sufficient vote was passed to enable him to aid the States-General of Holland against an impending attack by France. The immediate occasion of this hostility towards Louis XIV. was his intemperate and offensive action with regard to the Prince of Wales. Considerable doubt was expressed at the time of his alleged birth, in 1688, about his being the son of James and of his second wife, Mary of Modena. Stories were currently rumoured and commonly believed that a supposititious child had been introduced into the bedroom in a warming-pan ; for which there is no credible evidence. Indirect testimony is furnished of the true lineage of this child, afterwards known as the Pretender, from the fact, altogether apart from certain physical resemblances, that he exhibited throughout his useless life, protracted until 1765, all the bigotry, obstinacy, falsehood, licentiousness, and other bad qualities that marked most of the Stuarts. His father died at St. Germains, September 16, 1701. On the evening of that day, the son was proclaimed King of England, with much pomp, by the express orders of Louis, contrary to the advice of his ministers. As soon as the act was done, he perceived his mistake, and sought to explain it away ; but it was too late. The English ambassador was recalled, and the French representative was ordered to leave London. The outburst of indignation at the conduct of Louis effectually cowed and silenced the Jacobites at home, and did more than anything else to establish beyond all cavil the position of William III.

But the great monarch's days were numbered. Never strong, he had for some time been suffering from a complication of disorders, aggravated by the tension and anxiety of public life, and by the hardships of his numerous campaigns. On February 20, 1702, when riding in Hampton Court Park, his horse stumbled over a molehill, and threw him, fracturing his collar-bone. For years afterwards, one of the Jacobite toasts was,—"To the little gentleman in black velvet that works underground," as they drank the royal health after passing the glass across a tumbler of water, to denote the sup-

posed monarch across the Channel. To a young and vigorous man, such an accident would have involved nothing more than slight inconvenience; but to the weak frame of William III. it proved fatal. After much suffering, he passed away on the eighth of March, at the age of fifty-two, amidst the lamentations of a crowd of faithful friends, many of whom had known and loved him from early boyhood. When every deduction is made for blemishes and defects, and when every just censure of enemies and detractors is admitted, he still remains on a lofty pedestal, as one of the greatest, wisest, and truly regal wearers of the English crown, even if Macaulay's estimate errs on the side of excess, and amounts to the adulation of a hero. He has been eulogized as the Great Deliverer, and extolled as if the liberties of England would have been hopelessly ruined but for his intervention. It does not derogate from his renown to say that he was the figure-head; but that the real work had been accomplished by the men of the Commonwealth.

Notwithstanding the necessary and frequent absences of the King, the great expense caused by foreign wars, and the incessant vigilance required to counteract Jacobite plots at home, some valuable improvements were effected. Unlicensed printing, for which Milton pleaded in vain with the Long Parliament, in his noble 'Areopagitica,' had been forbidden with increased rigour at the Restoration. The censorship established over the Press by Elizabethan statesmen and prelates, was renewed from time to time until 1693, when the Commons, by a special vote, struck it out from the list of temporary measures to be continued; thereby preparing the way, in spite of the reflux of the tide in following reigns, for the modern newspaper, and for the free discussion of topics of the day. With the founding of the Bank of England, a system of public credit was established, on a plan first mooted in 1658 by Samuel Lamb, a sagacious and enterprising London merchant. He published a pamphlet, in the form of a letter to Cromwell, urging the formation of a bank in London, similar to the successful one at Amsterdam; and giving reasons to explain the vast superiority of Holland as a commercial nation. William Paterson (1658–1719), a Scotchman, has the credit of the

actual formation of the Bank, which received its Charter as a joint-stock association, July 27, 1694, with a capital of twelve hundred thousand pounds; being the amount lent to the Government, at eight per cent., to relieve existing embarrassments. This character of financial agent has been maintained ever since.

In this way the National Debt was created; the money being lent on condition that the principal could not be demanded, although power was reserved to pay it off. At the end of the reign the amount was sixteen millions. Certain privileges and immunities were granted in return, which have been extended and varied from time to time, in the issue of notes; in managing the Public Debt and paying the dividends; in holding the State deposits and making temporary advances to it; and in aiding in the collection of the revenue. Paterson's connection was brief; and his later scheme for forming a trading colony on the Isthmus of Darien ended in total disaster and ruin in 1701, though sanctioned by an Act of the Scottish Parliament, and supported by a large subscription; the whole of which was lost. A Board of Trade and Plantations was organized in 1695, being a revival of what had fitfully existed since 1660. At the time of its formation, the North American and West Indian colonies were greatly extended; and the few and scattered East India settlements were placed under better management. The coast fisheries were much improved, the shipping was doubled, and inland water communications were commenced. Preliminary steps were taken for effecting a legislative union with Scotland; and the national power and influence were advanced to the first rank in Europe. All this was accomplished, notwithstanding the pressure of almost continual war, and the heavy burdens thereby imposed on trade and industry.

With the passing of the measures detailed in this Chapter and the one preceding, and with the reign of William and Mary under a Parliamentary title, ends the long period of Revolution that commenced with successful resistance to personal and arbitrary government. It was followed by a formative Constitutional Period.

Period XII.—CONSTITUTIONALISM.

A.D. 1702–1760.

Chapter.

64.—Whigs and Tories.
65.—Literature and Manners.
66.—An Industrial and Social Picture.
67.—The Old Dissent.
68.—Religious Torpor.
69.—Parliamentary Rule.

CHAPTER LXIV.

WHIGS AND TORIES.

A.D. 1702–1714.

THE reign of Queen Anne (b. 1664, r. 1702–1714) was marked by ceaseless and bitter contests between the two factions of Whigs and Tories. The poisoned arrows of falsehood and of misrepresentation of opponents were freely used; to an extent and in a spirit unparalleled in any other age. The details of backstairs intrigues and party squabbles need not be brought forth from their deserved oblivion; nor is the extinct Grub-street literature of hack-pamphleteers worthy of revival. In the early part of the reign, and towards its close, the Tories were in the ascendent; but, in the interval, for about nine years, the Whigs regained their influence. Between the two sets of mere placemen and self-seekers there is not much to choose; accidents of birth, of marriage, and of circumstances mainly determining their course. Pope says that party is the madness of the many for the gain of the few. The treatment of Daniel Defoe (1663–1731) shows the rampant partisanship that prevailed. That able and fearless writer was attacked by Whigs and Tories alike; most of whom were political magpies, repeating monotonous and meaningless chatter. If the researches of his biographer, William Lee, are held to establish the theory that Defoe afterwards sold his fluent and forcible pen to the Government, however this may be regretted and censured, it serves to exhibit in a strong light the degraded state of public feeling.

The royal speech to Parliament, March 11, 1702, declared a continuance of the existing foreign policy. Marlborough (1650–1722) was appointed captain-general, and sent to Holland on a special mission; retaining, through his wife's influence over the Queen, virtual control over matters at home. Anne's weak and flaccid nature rendered her a mere puppet in their hands, until the presuming and tyrannical conduct of the Duchess provoked resistance, under the incentive of rivals, and led to a final rupture. Attempts have been made to

rehabilitate her clever, self-seeking, avaricious, over-praised, and amply-rewarded husband; the latest being by Lord Wolseley: but all the facts are against him, even if Macaulay's denunciations are too strong. He betrayed the confidence of James II., with treachery beyond the gross turpitude of that venal age. Next, he sold himself to William III.; but abandoned him, and offered his services once more to James. He then intrigued for and against Anne; but always with the main object of promoting his own interests, and especially to minister to his greed of gold. Thackeray's characterization of him in 'Esmond,' if severe, is merited. It was said that he was false to every woman and to every cause. His undoubted military talents, glorified by Addison in 'The Campaign,' in the famous comparison to an angel guiding the whirlwind, suggested by the great storm of 1703, cannot condone repeated political apostasy; though the glamour of his achievements on the battlefield, and the dignities and emoluments showered so lavishly upon him, have done much to blind posterity to his demerits. His mission to Holland resulted in a joint declaration of hostilities by that country, England, and the German Diet, against France, which lasted until 1713.

In the course of a few years, Marlborough was in receipt of nearly fifty-five thousand pounds per annum, and his wife had nine thousand five hundred for various Court sinecures and pensions. Besides this vast regular income, worth three or four times as much as in the present day, there were special Parliamentary grants; gifts by the Queen; marriage portions to his daughters; two and a half per cent. on the pay of foreign troops supported by England; large sums from Army contractors, and payments from Continental princes, as generalissimo; with presents of hundreds of pounds' weight of costly plate. To crown all, nearly a quarter of a million was expended for the purchase of the estate of Blenheim, at Woodstock, and the erection by the Queen of the rambling and hideous palace from the designs of Sir John Vanbrugh (1672–1726), architect of Castle Howard, and of other mansions of the ponderous and useless order. The above emoluments did not satisfy

Marlborough. "He is as covetous as hell, and as ambitious as the prince of it," Swift remarked, in his venomous style; and by way of satirical contrast to the great sums lavished on this one general, he gave particulars of the probable cost of an ancient Roman triumph. Marlborough was charged in the House of Commons, December 21, 1711, with having appropriated more than half a million of the public money, in addition to his salaries. He virtually admitted the charge; pleaded usage and the Queen's leave in the matter of commissions and contracts; but judged it prudent to withdraw to the Continent until the storm subsided.

The return for all this outlay upon Marlborough, and upon obliterated heroes of the hour, and for the fifty millions expended by England in prosecuting the war, was the ravaging of Bavaria, which equalled in ferocity and cruelty that of the Palatinate by the French; the Battles of Blenheim (August 13, 1704), in Bavaria, of Ramilies (May 23, 1706), and of Oudenarde (July 11, 1708), in Belgium, and of Malplaquet (September 11, 1709), in Flanders; with the capture of Gibraltar and of various French towns. The Key to the Mediterranean was finally ceded to England, and has been retained ever since; notwithstanding several attempts at recapture by the Spaniards and the French. The successes were great and dazzling, and the ambitious schemes of Louis XIV. were checked; but the effects were largely neutralized by the Treaty of Utrecht, which Bolingbroke negotiated in April, 1713; a peace that was commonly said to be a base crime as well as a gross blunder; and of which everybody was ashamed, except its author. The avowed object of the war was tacitly surrendered, and the principle of the original Partition Treaties was restored; only with a flimsy proviso that France and Spain should never be united under one monarch. Southey has sung, in his 'Battle of Blenheim,'—"It was a famous victory"; though old Kaspar found it impossible to tell "what good came of it at last." These brilliant campaigns blinded the eyes of most people to the real points at issue; but a rude awakening came ere long. The enormous expenses incurred were met, partly by increased taxes upon numerous articles in

common use, but chiefly by loans on stringent terms. The National Debt rose during this reign from sixteen to fifty-four millions. By a system of financial legerdemain, which has always been extensively practised under similar circumstances, the country was made to contribute to the benefit of contractors, speculators, loan-mongers and jobbers; by means of bonuses, discounts, deferred payments, and compound interest. When, for instance, in 1711, a sum of nine millions was raised, the nominal stock issued was eleven millions and three quarters, bearing interest at six per cent. Among the taxes levied were the following:—sixpence in the pound on stock in trade; threepence on money at interest; and four shillings in the pound on annuities, pensions, stipends, incomes, fees, perquisites, and profits in all offices and professions. Duties were imposed upon hops, malt, beer, mum, cider, perry, wines, vinegar, tobacco, starch, coffee, tea, chocolate, spices, pictures, silks, linens, muslins, calico, soap, drugs, coal, cinders, candles, whalebone, salt, paper, hides, vellum, windows, cards, dice, and hackney chairs. There were also licenses to hawkers and pedlars; increased rates of Tunnage and Poundage; and stamp duties on a great variety of articles. The numerous taxes, of which those recapitulated are but a few, are comprised in two of the most lengthy Acts in the Statute Book. Limited in time at first, they were subsequently renewed, or fresh taxes were granted year by year. Financial ingenuity was exercised in devising new expedients to raise money. Of the Customs' duties, imposed in the preceding reign for a restricted period, to meet special expenditure, nearly all were made perpetual, or were fixed for a much longer term. In addition, a vast number of articles used in manufactures and for domestic purposes were made to bear a heavy load of taxation. To enumerate them would be to mention nearly every commodity of trade, and nearly every necessity of daily life. Some were repealed by Walpole; others continued to be exacted for generations; long after the inducing circumstances ceased to operate.

A new Parliament had assembled in October, 1702. In an address to the Queen, the Tory majority expressed

a confident hope that as she had always been an illustrious ornament of the Church—Horace Walpole calls her, "the Church's wet-nurse, Goody Anne"—it would be restored to its due rights and privileges. When the representatives of the large body of London Nonconformist ministers offered their congratulations on her accession, she received them in ungracious silence. The dogma of Passive Obedience was again asserted. Ignorant country magistrates enforced Conformity, without much regard to the Toleration Act. Clamorous demands were made for further restrictions upon trade and commerce. A millennium of Tory rule and of clerical bigotry was anticipated. Known Dissenters, against whose loyalty and rectitude nothing could be alleged, were openly insulted; and ballads, ending with the refrain, "Down with the Presbyterians!" were sung by drunken and excited mobs. This outbreak of fanaticism was, in part, a reaction from an attempt made at the close of the seventeenth century to build up what was called a rational system of religion, which might win over sceptics and inquirers, and promote peace in the Church. Friendly relations were cultivated with Dissenters, with a view to soften the asperities engendered by the Puritan controversy and the Civil War. The most eminent writers of this school were Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688); Henry More (1614–1687), the Platonist; John Norris (1657–1711), who wrote the 'Theory of the Ideal and Intelligible World'; and Theophilus Gale (1628–1678), author of 'The Court of the Gentiles.' Archbishop Tillotson, with his clear intellect, prudence, and sweetness of temper, and Bishop Patrick (1626–1707), with his simple devoutness, favoured the Latitudinarians, as they were called, of whom Jeremy Taylor, John Hales of Eton, and William Chillingworth were the precursors. In one sense, they were in advance of their time; but, in another sense, they were too late, for all hope of comprehension had vanished under the Elizabethan and Carolinian Acts of Uniformity, with the drastic rule of ecclesiastical martinets like Whitgift, Sheldon, and Laud, and with the rejection of the Bill of 1689. Proof of this appeared in an unpleasant and a disgraceful outbreak. An intolerant cleric, Henry Sacheverell (1672–

1724), a worthless charlatan of the popular preacher variety, of smirched character, slender abilities, but of boundless assurance, who might have stood for the original of Parson Trulliber, gave expression to the opinions and wishes of the extreme High Church faction, in two sermons before the University of Oxford and before the assize judges in that city. He branded all Dissenters as enemies to the State, and boasted that he "hung out a bloody flag and banner of defiance" against them. He denounced their academies as dangerous to both Church and State, and as "fountains of lewdness," from which issued "all descriptions of heterodoxy, and atheistical books." Other preachers, including Samuel Wesley, father of John and Charles, adopted a similar strain, but in a less offensive manner.

As the result of the passion aroused, a Bill was introduced within eight months of the death of William III., to prevent Occasional Conformity; with a view to restrict the holders of all offices, by enforcing the rigorous provisions of the Test Act. Electors for boroughs were also to be made subject to them. For any one holding a civil, military, or naval office to enter a Nonconformist meeting-house after having once partaken of the Sacrament in the Established Church, was made punishable with heavy fines. A repetition of the offence involved transportation. To their honour it is recorded that the Lords, under the inspiration of the illustrious Somers and of Tenison, inserted various amendments, depriving the Bill of its sting; notwithstanding the angry resistance of the Tory majority in the Commons. The latter carried a similar Bill in 1703, as soon as the Session opened; but again it was rejected by the Upper House; fourteen bishops voting against it, and nine for it. A third time the Bill was passed, in 1704; but once more it was thrown out by the Lords. The scandal was witnessed of the Queen's husband, Prince George of Denmark, voting for it, though himself a Lutheran, and a very occasional Conformist. The measure was then laid aside for seven years; to be revived and carried under circumstances that reflect disgrace upon the Whigs, who consented to it as the price of a Pilate-and-Herod coalition.

Alert to discern the signs of the times, Defoe made a strenuous effort to disperse the threatened storm of persecution, by issuing anonymously, in 1703, his famous satire, 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters'; one of the ablest and most seasonable political pamphlets ever written. It is a perfect specimen of irony, and ranks in literature with Dryden's 'Absalom and Achitophel'; or with Swift's 'Tale of a Tub' and 'Gulliver'; or with Arbuthnot's 'History of John Bull.' It cleverly personates the opinions and style of the most bigoted of the Tories; and sets forth with mock earnestness the intolerant measures they desired. With covert gravity, Defoe recommended a war of extermination; yet no one suspected the lurking satire, nor who was the author. At this distance of time it is not possible to read the clever squib without being amazed at the dense stupidity of all parties. Yet, at later periods, critics were deluded by the irony of Burke's 'Vindication of Natural Society,' and by Whately's 'Historic Doubts.' As soon as it was suspected that the object was to expose High-Church designs, and when the author's name leaked out, the note suddenly changed. The Tories were furious at being caught in such a trap, and clamoured for his punishment; and some Dissenters joined in the cry. Both parties took revenge for their own dulness. As the Government of the day was inimical to the man, although not to the assumed principles, it was resolved to crush him by a State prosecution. The House of Commons ordered the book to be burned by the hangman, as being "full of false and scandalous reflections on the Parliament, and tending to sedition." This was a sample of the way in which public writers were treated for a lengthened period. Sir Richard Steele was expelled from the House in March, 1713, for writing two pamphlets on the succession to the Crown; in which he warned the nation that the Protestant cause was in danger. The powers of the law were always strained to repress free criticism.

Defoe surrendered, in order to protect his printer, and was indicted at the Old Bailey; the Attorney-General, Sir Simon Harcourt, treating him in the style of Judge Jeffreys. Defoe was sentenced to pay a fine of two

hundred marks; to stand thrice in the pillory; to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure; and to find sureties for good behaviour during seven years; equivalent to a sentence of perpetual incarceration. In his 'Hymn to the Pillory,' he vindicated his pamphlet, satirized his opponents, and upheld the principles of liberty; for which, as he recited, so many had already suffered. So popular was he that the ordinary nauseous accompaniments of the pillory were lacking, and his triple exposure was an ovation. Usually, the miserable occupants of "the wooden ruff" were hooted and pelted by the crowd, who regarded it as fine sport to hurl mud, rotten eggs, decayed vegetables, sticks, stones, dead cats and dogs, and other missiles. Sometimes the victims died under the infliction. Burke commented in 1780 in the House of Commons on such a result of the brutality of a savage mob; and he was assailed with virulent abuse by some of the newspapers. Nothing daunted, he repeated his criticisms five years later, when a similar fatality occurred at Bristol. Degrading as this punishment was, though more so to the nation than to the delinquents, and tending as it did to brutalize the people, it was considered throughout the eighteenth century as an appropriate mode of dealing with what was termed sedition; or with any persons convicted of having written or published what was twisted into a libel against Church or State. After Defoe had undergone this part of his sentence, he discussed from his prison, as he had done once before, in 1697, with the great John Howe, Occasional Conformity with Dissenters, and the grounds of popular right with Tories. He took part in the boldest questions of Scotch and Irish policy; canvassed with daring freedom the measures of the Court party; and finally, in 1704, while still in prison, he set up his 'Review of the State of the English Nation.'

This marks an era in the history of English literature. It was the precursor, in an inchoate form, of the modern newspaper; with the possible exception of the 'Daily Courant,' first issued on March 11, 1702, on a single folio page, containing only six paragraphs of so-called news, translated from French and Dutch sources. 'Berrow's Worcester Journal,' still published, dates back to

1709, under the familiar name of the 'Postboy,' and claims to be the oldest existing weekly journal, unless the palm be conceded to the 'Lincoln, Stamford, and Rutland Mercury,' as it is now called. The 'Newcastle Courant,' the 'Hereford Journal,' the 'Norwich Mercury,' and the 'Leeds Mercury,' all appeared before 1720. The character of the intelligence was meagre, and there were no comments. Under the old Licensing Act, which expired in 1693, the only issue allowed was the 'London Gazette,' containing nothing but what the Secretary of State wished to be known. This was so partial and vague a chronicle that, though it had no competitors, the circulation was very restricted. The only other means of disseminating information was through the gossip of the coffee-houses; the ephemeral and apocryphal news-sheets; and the written news-letters sent from London to country subscribers. The few periodical issues, like Roger L'Estrange's 'Observator,' in 1681, or John Dunton's 'Athenian Mercury,' of nine years later, were essays and dissertations, rather than news, in the proper sense of the word. The latter publication was continued for six years. A curious collection of questions and answers, extracted from it, was afterwards issued in four volumes, throwing much light upon social manners and usages. Dunton was the prolific writer of a number of forgotten works on the politics of his day. He married an aunt of the Wesleys, and died in 1733.

When the Press censorship was partly withdrawn, a number of short-lived 'Intelligencers,' 'Packets,' 'Posts,' and similar papers were sent forth. They were diminutive and mean-looking; in the style of modern street-ballads and other catchpenny publications. They had to struggle against the Stamp Duties that were avowedly imposed as much to suppress them, in order to stifle public discussion of national affairs, as with a view to the revenue. Every copy had to bear a fourpenny stamp. The paper-duty was threepence per pound. Each advertisement had to pay three and sixpence. These Taxes on Knowledge, to use Leigh Hunt's phrase, continued, with occasional modifications, until the middle of the nineteenth century, when public opinion, which they were intended to curb or silence, indignantly swept

them away. They are largely responsible for the dense ignorance that prevailed. It is not surprising, considering the financial struggles and the legal risks of newspapers, that their matter was on a par with their mean and shabby appearance. Defoe's 'Review' was much above the average. It appeared thrice a week for nine years, and was written solely by himself; dealing with all subjects then engaging public attention; criticizing them with humour and satire; making fearless attacks upon political jobbery; and carrying on the work of political education. He sought to give variety by articles on social topics; which Addison and Steele afterwards made the staple of their essays, and treated so effectively. Seldom has there been such a versatile writer. He produced one hundred and thirty known books, great and small, besides many anonymous works that are reasonably ascribed to him. From his 'Essay on Projects,' Benjamin Franklin derived hints and impressions that influenced some of the principal events of his life; and later inventors and projectors have been largely indebted to Defoe.

In August, 1704, after an incarceration of thirteen months, he came forth from Newgate. He suffered imprisonment again in the closing months of the reign for other political pamphlets; but when the principles and the policy for which he had striven and endured so much became triumphant with the accession of the House of Brunswick, he addressed himself, as a vivid story-teller of powerful imagination, to the writing of 'Robinson Crusoe' and of the other works of semi-fiction which have made his name immortal, as the sovereign lord of illusion and realism. To have pleased all the boys in England, and multitudes abroad, for nearly two hundred years is a remarkable feat. He is the father of the modern British novel. The nearest parallel is found in the case of William Cobbett, who wrote still better English, though he could not have written 'Crusoe.' One of the most illustrious members of the Harley Ministry that secured Defoe's release and enlisted his services was Lord Cowper, the Lord Keeper, and then Chancellor (d. 1723). Among other abuses to which he put an end was the pernicious custom of receiving gifts

from the subordinate judges and from barristers. But the usage continued for puisne judges, whose salaries were only one thousand pounds, to accept fees and presents, which formed the chief part of their remuneration. In the following reign their salaries were raised to fifteen hundred. This sum was doubled in 1799, and was increased to four thousand ten years later. Fees and perquisities continued to be accepted until 1826, when all such payments were ordered to be handed over to the Exchequer; and the salaries were again raised, with increased retiring allowances.

The project for a Legislative Union with Scotland, attempted in 1604 and 1670, but delayed so long by national antipathies and jealousies, was again revived. The great Somers took a leading part in the arrangement of a basis of negotiation. Commissioners were appointed to treat. The best account is contained in the 'History of the Union,' by Defoe, who spent much time in Scotland as a confidential agent of the Government, and rendered great service in the protracted and difficult task. Not until May 1, 1707, was it brought to a close by the royal assent being given to a Bill passed by the English Legislature; embodying the various provisions agreed to by the Estates of Scotland. Chief among these was the saving of the rights of the Established Kirk of that country, so as to secure the maintenance of Presbyterianism. The General Assembly of 1702 had solemnly protested against tolerating Prelacy. The Scottish Courts of Law were continued, with their peculiar procedure and still more peculiar phraseology; both of which are a standing puzzle to Englishmen. The proverbial thriftiness of the people, and their keenness in making a bargain, appear in the assumption by England of the public debts, and in the substantial sums paid for alleged losses by private persons through equalizing the value of the currency, and the cessation of the African and Indian Company of Scotland. One payment of £308,085 was made as "an equivalent," to keep the merchants quiet. Dr. Johnson's oft-expressed dislike of Scotchmen was the utterance of a prejudice common enough from the days of his youth, when Englishmen resented the arrival of swarms of needy

adventurers, talking with a strange accent, and displaying a clannishness which, however natural, was sometimes vexatious in its pertinacity after lucrative posts.

Ecclesiastical affairs continued to occasion trouble. So intolerant and perverse were the clergy that Convocation had fallen into general and deserved contempt. It had not been allowed to meet for eleven years prior to 1700, and then its proceedings were most unseemly. The Lower House flouted the bishops; one of whom charged the Prolocutor with prevarication, and with "telling a very great untruth." Burnet also taxed him with insolence, and a painful scene ensued. More than once, the proctors had prayers separately; to show their independence of the Upper House. They repeatedly refused to adjourn, and carried on their debates in a tumultuous and disgraceful manner. It is not surprising, therefore, that another long prorogation took place from 1700 to 1710, and that after repeated recurrences of such a mutinous and litigious temper, Convocation, whose existence had long been shadowy and purposeless, was silenced in 1717 for a hundred and thirty-five years. There was the less necessity for meeting, because the ancient powers of self-taxation by the clergy, for the exercise of which Convocation was chiefly valued by needy monarchs, were surrendered in 1665, when spiritual as well as secular persons were for the first time made liable for the Money Bills of the Commons, and when parochial ministers acquired the right of voting for members of Parliament. A change of the kind must have been made ere long, for it was anomalous and inconvenient to allow a particular class to tax itself; but the change helped to sink Convocation into neglect and disuse; which was consummated by its own contentiousness and disloyalty after the Revolution. At its first meeting in Anne's reign, a long paper of alleged grievances was drawn up, relating to what were called the licentiousness of the Press, the inefficiency of the laws respecting the collection of church-rates, the neglect of baptism, irregularities in mariages, and other matters; but, as Burnet remarks, they "took care to mention none of those greater ones of which many among themselves are eminently guilty, such as pluralities, non-

residence, the neglect of their cures, and the irregularities in the lives of the clergy, which were too visible." He comments with equal severity on the fact that means had not been devised for providing a better subsistence for the poorer clergy; "we having then amongst us some hundreds of cures that had not of certain provision twenty pounds a year; and six thousand that had not fifty pounds." His remarks arose out of a proposal made by the Queen, on clerical instigation, to surrender the Firstfruits and Tenths of livings, reserved in perpetuity to the Crown in the time of Henry VIII.; amounting in 1703 to about sixteen thousand pounds annually. Probably this act of vicarious generosity on her part was regarded as a condonation of her slipshod and irreverent method of having prayers read in an adjacent room while she was dressing, so as to save time.

A Bill was introduced in November, 1703, to enable this branch of the Crown revenue to be alienated, and to create a corporation for applying the money to the augmentation of poor livings. The Statute of Mortmain was relaxed so far as to permit gifts or bequests for the same purpose. This was the origin of what is known under the anomalous and misleading name of Queen Anne's Bounty; the administration of which, like so many trust funds—where they have not disappeared in the lapse of time, through neglect or malversation—is a standing instance of the expenses being wholly disproportionate to the accruing advantages. By the Statute of 1534, the sums payable were to be revised from time to time; but a clause was foisted into the new Act, by which the old rates were fixed in perpetuity, irrespective of growing values. The richer clergy contrived to evade their share of the obligation. There was, however, no unwillingness to accept as much financial aid as could be extorted from the Legislature; and to clamour for more. In 1710, a sum of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds was voted for building fifty new churches in London, where it was said that a quarter of a million of people were religiously unprovided for. The sum was to include in each case a parsonage and burial-ground. By a scandalous piece of jobbery, only twelve churches were erected with the money, and no more could be obtained,

even from that Tory and High Church Parliament. Fergusson says, in his 'History of Architecture,' that between the Reformation and the Great Fire of London, no church of the smallest pretensions to design was erected, save the small one by Inigo Jones in Covent Garden, in 1631. Wren, with all his taste and talent, had but a dim conception of Christian architecture.

The straitened circumstances of many of the working clergy led to the adoption of what became eventually a general scheme of life assurance. In Saxon times, the guilds had secured their members, in return for certain fixed payments, against loss from fire, flood, robbery, and other calamities. Insurance against maritime risks had also been common through the Middle Ages. When opening Elizabeth's first Parliament, Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper, asked,—"Doth not the wise merchant, in every adventure of danger, give part to have the rest assured?" A system of insurance had generally prevailed since the Great Fire of London, in 1666. Another system of annuities, based on a mathematical calculation of human life, was submitted to the States-General of Holland by John de Witt, the Grand Pensionary (1625–1672). It may have led the Rev. William Assheton, D.D. (1641–1711), rector of Beckenham, Kent, to propound a tentative scheme whereby clergymen might secure some provision for their widows. After numerous rebuffs, failures, and modifications, he succeeded in inducing the wealthy Mercers' Company of the City of London to take up the matter, in 1698, and to issue what may be described as bonds or policies, on the security of their large estates, to all persons, lay as well as clerical, who paid any sum from fifty to one thousand pounds, being under thirty years of age, or, if older, but not exceeding sixty years, a sum of not less than fifty pounds or more than three hundred. The benefit secured for a widow or a nominee was fifteen pounds for each fifty paid irrespective of age; an obvious defect that was remedied ere long, by the adoption of a system of graduated payments. The success of the Mercers' Company led to the speedy formation of Life Assurance Companies on lines that approximated to equity and science; although later

experience has devised great improvements. The first was the "Amicable," founded in 1706, now known as the "Hand-in-Hand." But to Dr. Assheton the main credit is due. Defoe, in his versatile fashion, advocated the promotion of societies formed by mutual assurance for the relief of the members in seasons of distress. Before long, as Sir F. M. Eden, Charles Hardwick, and other writers show, they had extended to most parts of the country. Not a few of them still exist, and many more have since been established on a sound basis. The Oddfellows, the Foresters, and other Orders, with many subsidiary and local bodies, now have a membership of upwards of four millions, and accumulated funds and property amounting to twenty-two millions; not including unregistered societies, of which even an approximate estimate cannot be made. The Rev. J. Frome Wilkinson, in 'Mutual Thrift,' gives much valuable information on an important subject.

The old cry of "Church in danger!" was again heard. Incendiary sermons were preached, and the clergy used their official influence at the General Election in 1710. Money was freely distributed among the debased and ignorant mob; ribald songs were sung in the streets; Dissenting meeting-houses were broken into and gutted; their ministers were lampooned in pamphlets and openly assaulted; and numerous gross caricatures and inflammatory tracts appeared. At Cirencester a match was got up between two fighting-cocks, who were named respectively after the High Church Sacheverell and the Nonconformist Daniel Burgess; but the latter vanquished and killed the former. By one of the sudden revulsions of political prejudice that sometimes occur, the Whig majority was scattered, and the Whig power was broken. The inflated and turgid ecclesiastic who was the occasion of all this excitement improved his opportunity and went on a sort of triumphal progress. He found numerous dupes, and gained much from their credulity; just as George Psalmanazar was doing at the same time with his fabulous account of the Island of Formosa, of which he pretended to be a native. Sacheverell soon lapsed into the obscurity from which he should never have been dragged. However, he was rewarded with the rich

Crown benefice of St. Andrew's, Holborn; and having gained what he most coveted, the world heard no more from him of the dangers of the Church and the nation.

There is ample proof that during the last four years of the reign, designs were cherished and plans were laid to secure the accession of the Pretender, by the brilliant but unscrupulous Bolingbroke (1678–1751), then one of the Secretaries of State; aided by his rival, Harley, Earl of Oxford (1661–1724), with whom he afterwards quarrelled; and by Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester (1662–1732), by Butler, Duke of Ormond (1665–1745), and other Tories and Jacobites. Bolingbroke's great abilities made him essential to his party. Like Canning and Disraeli at a later day, he became its spokesman, and directed its dumb power. The confederates hoped to set aside the arrangements of the Act of Settlement. Nor were their opponents much better, when judged by the canons of strict political morality. Throughout the reign there were ceaseless intrigues, such as professional partisans delight in. The Queen was known to favour the claims of her half-brother, the Pretender. She had no love for her distant Hanoverian connections, and would not allow them to visit England. She never forgot or forgave the manner in which she had been courted and then jilted, as a girl of fifteen, by her future successor, at the behest of his father, the Elector. It was also known that her personal sentiments were in favour of royal absolutism and of High Church Toryism. If she had dared, every measure of civil liberty would have been withdrawn from Nonconformists. Happily for the country, she was a woman of strong prejudices, but of no ability; and her mediocrity and stupidity conduced to public freedom. The last year of her reign was rendered infamous by the passing of an Act as tyrannical as any that had disgraced the worst years of the preceding century. The Occasional Conformity Act had failed to accomplish its intended purpose. The Schism Bill was therefore introduced, May 12, 1714, to vest the monopoly of education in the Church of England. No person was to keep a school, or act as private tutor, without an episcopal license, which was only to be granted on a certificate of strict conformity, and on sub-

scribing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The alternative was imprisonment without bail.

The peculiar atrocity of the measure appears in the indisputable fact that it was a covert plan to bring in the Pretender, by a systematic attempt to instil Jacobitism into the youth of England. In the charity schools founded by the Christian Knowledge Society, liberally aided by wealthy Dissenters, according to Lord Cowper and Dr. Isaac Watts, the children were taught to hate the Revolution and the existing Constitution; as Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Gibson, Bishop of London, severely animadverted upon. By the Schism Bill, Dissenters were not to be allowed even to educate their own children; and their Academies for training ministers would have been stopped, although they were rigidly excluded from the national Universities by the Act of Uniformity. The Bill was carried through the House of Commons by nearly two to one, and passed all the stages on one day, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the minority. The House of Lords, which had protected the illustrious Somers from a scandalous prosecution instituted by the Lower House, again displayed a greater sense of justice, and modified in some degree the stringent provisions of the Bill; though it passed by a majority of five. Thirty-three peers, including five bishops, entered on the Journals a strong protest against the measure, as needless, unjust, and pernicious. But it was zealously supported by the other prelates and by the clergy, and was even extended to Catholic Ireland, against the advice of the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Lord-Lieutenant.

It was to come into operation on the first of August; but on that very day the Queen died. Under the opposite policy which was immediately initiated, it remained inoperative, and was formally repealed in 1718. It is recorded in Walter Wilson's 'History of Dissenting Churches,' published in 1808, that Thomas Bradbury (1677–1759), a renowned Independent minister of that day, and a personal friend of many leading statesmen and bishops, walking through Smithfield on the way to his chapel in Fetter Lane, met Bishop Burnet in his carriage going to Court to inquire after the Queen

He noticed Bradbury's depression, and was told that he was musing upon the martyrs who had suffered on that spot, and wondering whether he should display similar constancy under the persecution of the Schism Act. Burnet told him the news, and arranged to send to the chapel a messenger, with instructions to drop a handkerchief from the gallery in the event of the Queen being dead. This was done, and Bradbury at once asked the congregation to join in prayer for King George. He used to say that he was the first to proclaim the accession of the House of Hanover. When he and other Dissenting clergymen went to Court to present a congratulatory address to the new monarch, a nobleman sneeringly asked if it was a funeral; referring to the black cloaks worn in accordance with usage. Bradbury replied, with his ready wit, "Yes, my lord, it is the funeral of the Schism Act, and the resurrection of liberty." The Queen called him "bold Bradbury," and Harley is said to have tried in vain to silence him by the offer of a bishopric.

Queen Anne's death occurred unexpectedly. She was only in her fiftieth year, but her health had failed for some time, and she was a victim to gluttony and obesity. Her embonpoint was colossal. A popular sobriquet applied to her was Brandy Nan, because of her potations. She was seized with apoplexy at the end of July, 1714. Bolingbroke, and other Jacobites in the Cabinet, were unable to mature their plans in the interests of the Pretender; for the maintenance of their own power; and for perpetuating the Church and Tory policy. They tried in vain to influence the Presbyterians, through Dr. Daniel Williams (1644–1716), who resented the attempt. At a Privy Council meeting, held on the day of her fatal seizure, two of the great Whig peers, the Dukes of Argyle and of Somerset, took their places, though not specially summoned; the custom then, as now, being to invite only known adherents of the Ministry. The sudden arrival of the two noblemen disconcerted the conspirators. At an adjourned meeting in the afternoon, other Whig lords came, and vigorous measures were taken to carry out the provisions of the

Act of Settlement, and to secure the control of the ports and the fleet. The Elector, George of Hanover, had become heir-apparent by the death of his aged mother, two months previously. He was proclaimed King of England as soon as Queen Anne had passed away. The Jacobite plotters were frustrated. Bolingbroke, and others like him, soon after sought safety in France. He remained there eight years; emulating the spirit and conduct of Alcibiades. His flight was naturally construed to imply guilt. He had expressed his deliberate approval of the Revolution Settlement, as the guarantee of civil and religious liberty; yet he set himself to overthrow it. Atterbury, continuing to intrigue for the Jacobites, was at length impeached and exiled in 1722. He always declared that the best cause in England was lost for lack of spirit. He would have had the Pretender proclaimed at once. Happily, true Constitutionalism once more triumphed, mainly owing to the loyalty and firm attitude of the Nonconformists. The blindness of the Tories in upholding Church supremacy at all hazards, and in scheming for the Stuarts, saved the Protestant Succession, and secured a continuance of Parliamentary and representative government. In Ivimey's 'History of the Baptists' it is said that the death of Anne was in answer to the Dissenters' prayers. Whatever may be thought of the taste of such a statement, or of a common rumour, for which there is no evidence, that Bradbury preached a funeral sermon from 2 Kings ix. 34, they indicate the irritated and soured feelings of many under a long course of insult and injury.

CHAPTER LXV.

LITERATURE AND MANNERS.

A.D. 1702–1760.

Richard Steele (1671–1720), "a warm-hearted, impetuous, typical Irishman," as Leslie Stephen describes him, issued, April 12, 1709, the renowned 'Tatler.' It

was a small folio half-sheet of four columns, and consisted of a colloquial essay on some topic suggested by the dress, manners, foibles, or amusements of society, with items of gossip and news. It created and satisfied a popular taste, and was read with an avidity exceeded only by the Waverley Novels a century later. It appeared thrice a week until the early part of 1711, giving place to the still more famous 'Spectator.' Joseph Addison (1672–1719), usually designated the English Atticus, had sometimes contributed to Steele's little paper, but wrote much more for this. His articles, two hundred and seventy-four in number, bear one of the letters forming the word Clio, the Muse of History. This most kindly and delicate of humorists is deservedly praised by Young, Tickell, Gay, Pope, and Cowper. He is better known in literature by his charming and finished Essays than as the author of the political play of 'Cato,' the characters in which have faded away into nonentities. His name is immortalized in the 'Spectator.' It continued to appear daily until December 6, 1712, and was followed for a short space by the 'Guardian,' and then by the 'Freeholder,' which were also adorned by his pen. But the Stamp Duties proved fatal to all such periodical issues.

Addison founded a school of popular and elegant writing, superseding the cumbrous, involved, pedantic sentences of the preceding age, which Johnson and Gibbon, with all their transcendent ability and sonorous phrases, were unable to restore. He has never been surpassed, and but rarely equalled, in his peculiar vein. Johnson's dictum was that any one wishing to attain an English style must give days and nights to the study of Addison. Yet his style, though correct and refined, is as cold as an icicle and as formal as a Dutch garden. Even the passion of love is described in a periphrasis. One of his friends and imitators, Ambrose Philips, gave rise to the epithet of Namby Pamby, from his feeble and jejune compositions, written in short lines, with an affected, infantine simplicity of diction. The advent of a writer of a far different order, and the greatest master of modern satire, with all his fierce grotesqueness, was heralded by the issue, in 1704, from the pen of Jonathan

Swift (1667-1745), of 'The Tale of a Tub' and 'The Battle of the Books.' The latter arose out of a controversy as to the superiority of ancient over modern learning. The former was an arraignment of the corruptions and pretensions of the Church of Rome; of the folly and extravagance of Dissenters; and of the solemn and empty formulas that passed current in literary circles. As a satire, it would have added to the reputation of a Lucian or an Erasmus. The dunderheads of that day concluded that the author must be an infidel; but this was not the sole or the chief bar to his promotion. Coarseness, cynicism, and downright brutality characterize many of his writings. He displayed a special faculty for extracting diversion out of gross and sensuous images, and appeared to revel in their foulness, like his contemporary, Bernard Mandeville (1670–1733), in the 'Fable of the Bees'; though the latter was a scoffer, and not a misanthrope; whereas Swift was both. His ambition to attain to political power and an English mitre being disappointed by the Whigs, he transferred to the Tories his incisive, truculent, and libidinous pen; but he never rose above the Deanery of St. Patrick's, for no statesman, even in that venal and shameless age, would have dared to make him a prelate. His sole conception of religion was political, like Fielding's Thwackum. He became more embittered and cynical, sank into the imbecility of dementia, and spent the last three years of his life in almost total silence—"a driveller and a show." His modern fame mainly rests on 'Gulliver's Travels,' the object of which, as he said, apart from the three hundred pounds realized, was to vex the world. The sixth chapter of 'A Voyage to Brobdingnag' in this immortal book stands unrivalled, unless by More's 'Utopia,' as an ironical description of English political institutions of the time.

If Swift was the English Juvenal, Alexander Pope (1688–1744) was its Horace. His 'Essay on Criticism,' written in his twentieth year, was followed by other works which brought both fame and money, and mark the commencement of a new literary era. His ostracism, as the son of a Roman Catholic, his physical deformity, his weak constitution, and his extreme

sensitiveness, explain his virulence and occasional savagery, though he was tolerant of all forms of faith, and admitted that his own sat lightly upon him. Atterbury, not unkindly, described his diminutive figure in his little chariot as "Homer in a nutshell." In middle life he issued a translation, or, rather, a paraphrase, of Homer, which Johnson called the noblest version the world had seen. Gray declared that no other translation would ever equal it; while Gibbon said that it had every merit except faithfulness to the original. The learned Bentley told Pope it was a very pretty poem, but must not be called Homer; but this was fair retaliation for the attack upon himself as the tasteless mutilator of Milton. However, Pope secured eight thousand eight hundred pounds by the then popular method of publishing by subscription, the odd hundreds being given to William Browne and Elijah Fenton, who assisted him, as he knew but little Greek. His pecuniary success was in marked contrast to the miserable pittance furnished by literature to some of his predecessors, like Dekker, Ben Jonson, Spenser, Milton, Dryden, Otway, and Samuel Butler, or to contemporaries and successors, like Richard Savage, William Collins, of the exquisite 'Odes and Eclogues,' Dr. Samuel Johnson, Samuel Boyse, who wrote 'The Deity,' Oliver Goldsmith, and Henry Fielding, all of whom knew what it was to lack a meal.

Samuel Foote (1720–1777) lays bare as with a scalpel, in his farce of 'The Author,' the struggles, and expedients, and humiliations of the literary profession; and Hogarth depicts them in the garret scene of the Distressed Poet, with his abject, grinding poverty. There are exceptions. Addison, after filling several offices, became Secretary of State, through the influence of political friends. He had married the Dowager Countess of Warwick, and Dryden espoused a daughter of the Earl of Rochester, each, according to Pope, "marrying discord in a noble wife." Nicholas Rowe was Surveyor of Customs, and held other posts, as well as being poet-laureate, realizing in all twelve hundred pounds a year. Sir Isaac Newton was Master of the Mint. David Hume was Secretary to the Embassy to France, and, for a short

time, Under-Secretary of State. Matthew Prior was Ambassador at Paris, after being one of the Commissioners of Trade. Sir John Vanbrugh, author of 'The Relapse,' 'The Provoked Wife,' and other witty, satirical, but loose plays, besides his profession as an architect, was Secretary of Greenwich Hospital and Clarencieux King-at-arms. Steele, William Congreve, Thomas Tickell, John Gay, and some others held lucrative sinecures. These were chiefly rewards or retainers for political services. James Thomson, of 'The Seasons,' had an annuity of one hundred pounds, and thrice that sum for the titular governorship of the Leeward Islands; but, before this, he had to drain the cup of misery to the dregs. It is pitiful to reflect how many immortal compositions, that have done so much to enlighten, to soothe, and to elevate, were written by men with aching hearts, in the midst of perplexities and worries. No sum comparable to Pope's remuneration was received by a poet, a novelist, or any author, until the advent of Sir Walter Scott and Lord Byron, of Dickens and Thackeray, of Bulwer Lytton and Macaulay, of Tennyson and George Eliot.

The moral and satirical works by which Pope is best known were composed, for the most part, in his later years. His 'Essay on Man' exhibits his conspicuous excellences and his conspicuous faults, apart from its being a versification of Bolingbroke's sceptical teaching. Of his other writings, the 'Dunciad,' an imitation of Dryden's 'Mac Flecknoe,' stands in the foremost rank among satires. It was a trenchant attack upon the pretended wits and poetasters of that day. Additions were made in subsequent issues to this unenviable gallery of portraits. Many of the denizens of Grub-street would have otherwise remained unknown. In destroying the vermin who then infested literature, he raged with superfluous vehemence. It was like crushing a noxious insect with a Nasmyth hammer. 'Martinus Scriblerus,' commonly attributed to him, was probably written by Dr. John Arbuthnot (1675-1735); of whose wit and humour Swift, Pope, and Johnson speak in terms of high praise. As a medical man, he may be said to have laid the foundation of the science of vital statistics. Perhaps no

author, save Shakspere, Milton, or Wordsworth, furnishes so many familiar and apposite quotations as Pope. His felicitous phrases are often ascribed to others. His contemporary, Dr. Edward Young (1684-1765), of the 'Night Thoughts,' in spite of his mock-tragedy airs, and the hollow ring of insincerity in his notes, enjoys a similar distinction in a lower degree, though his writings often descend to bombast and turgidity, and abound in sins against the literary canons of taste. He is not a seer, or a prophet, or an enthusiast; but a clever phrase-monger and a disappointed place-hunter, who, in his extreme verbal solicitude about the next world, contrived to keep a sharp eye upon present interests. Pope wielded great influence in his day, and, like Dryden before him, and like Johnson subsequently, was the arbiter of literary fame. But the real character of what is sometimes vaunted as the Augustan Age of English literature, with the "mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease," is shown by the fact that Shakspere was driven from the Stage. He is not even mentioned in Addison's work 'On the Greatest English Poets,' which also describes Chaucer's "unpolished strains" as hopelessly rustic and obscured by Time, and Spenser as having no charm for an understanding age, however he may have amused one that was barbarous and uncultivated. Addison himself speaks of Milton in glowing terms of eulogy; but the blind bard had few admirers and no influence in that age of wits, and beaux, and macaronis, and dandies, with their wigs and canes, their patches and powder, their muffs and painted heels.

Science had worthy exponents in John Flamsteed, Sir Isaac Newton, and Edward Halley; and music in the two Purcells, William Croft, and William Boyce. George Frederick Handel (1684-1759) found a home and patrons in England, first for his operas, and then for his sublime oratorios. They revealed the hidden soul of harmony, even if Dr. Crotch's allegation be true, that Handel freely appropriated the compositions of Stradella, Erba, and others. But the English people were by no means musical. Only the wealthy few appreciated the art. Fiddling, as it was termed, was held in special contempt, as being effeminate. By those who really loved music,

or who professed to love it as a matter of fashion, foreign singers alone were tolerated. Hogarth ridicules this in one of his pictures of the Marriage à la Mode, and in that of the Enraged Musician—supposed to represent Handel—with its overflowing and uproarious fun. The drama was fairly supported, if not distinguished by immortal plays or by renowned actors. The usual hour of commencement at theatres was five o'clock, and the performance ended before nine. Prices ranged from one shilling to five. The upper gallery was reserved for the gratuitous admission of footmen, until their disorderly conduct led to a withdrawal of the privilege. Nicholas Rowe stole the plot of 'The Fair Penitent,' by which he is best known, from Massinger's 'Fatal Dowry,' and freely appropriated anything that served his purpose. His diffuse translation of Lucan's 'Pharsalia' was highly valued; but his edition of Shakspere, in 1709, contained numerous emendations which he presumed to regard as improvements. John Gay's (1688–1732) 'Beggar's Opera,' a Newgate pastoral, suggested by Swift, was brought out in 1728, and achieved a popularity which is now difficult to explain. It ran for sixty-three nights, amidst a tempest of laughter, and brought the author sixteen hundred pounds. Wealthy and polished society applauded its own infamous portrait; and leading statesmen were quizzed under the guise of pickpockets and highwaymen. Gay impudently said,—"It is difficult to determine whether the fine gentlemen imitate the gentlemen of the road, or these the fine gentlemen." He was called the Orpheus of Highwaymen. Sir John Fielding said that this play was never represented without creating more thieves. The sequel, 'Polly,' suppressed by the Lord Chamberlain, because of its alleged satire on the Ministry, was published by subscription, and realized £2000. Yet Gay was capable of better work, as is shown by his libretto of Handel's 'Acis and Galatea,' and by his 'Fables.' His character is delineated by Pope in the famous epitaph in Westminster Abbey, where he was interred.

Italian Opera, introduced soon after the Restoration, was still waging its long struggle for success. An exotic in England, it was a plant of slow growth. Among

noted managers were Christopher Rich, who invented the English form of pantomime, and Colley Cibber (1671–1757), who was also an actor, and a playwright, or, rather, a mutilator of plays. His best comedy is 'The Careless Husband'; but the one that brought him most money was an adaptation of Molière's 'Tartuffe,' entitled 'The Nonjuror,' on which Isaac Bickerstaff founded 'The Hypocrite.' As poet-laureate, Cibber's flattering encomiums on royalty, and his far-fetched comparisons, merit the palm for absurdity. His acting version of Shakspere's 'Richard III.,' imperfect and unworthy though it was, long held possession of the Stage. One of Hogarth's plates represents the works of Shakspere, Ben Jonson, Dryden, and others, being carted away as waste-paper. In another, Parnassus is turned into a bear-garden; Pegasus is drawing a dust cart; and the Muses are employed in sifting cinders. No improvement occurred until David Garrick appeared in London, and began his distinguished and successful career in Drury-lane Theatre. Before his time, the lengths to which political allusions were carried on the Stage furnished Sir Robert Walpole with a pretext for the Licensing Act of 1737, which required every manuscript to be submitted to the censorship of the Lord Chamberlain before being presented in public. Most of the plays produced during the first half of the century, including what Cowper terms, "smart and snappish dialogue that flippant wits style Comedy," where not irredeemably dull, were nauseating to modern ears by their vulgarity. In order to appreciate this school of writers, prurience and cynicism are needed. Grave matrons and young girls laughed at the broad and coarse jokes, and heard without a blush the language of the stables and the stews. Pope says,—"The modest fan was lifted up no more, and virgins smiled at what they blushed before." Jeremy Collier (1650–1726), author of the 'Ecclesiastical History,' a divine of great learning and high character, but of intense pugnacity, to whom controversy was a delight, published in 1698 his 'Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage.' A Jacobite and a Nonjuror, he cannot be charged with Puritan fanaticism; but he strongly

censured the plays of that time, for their indecent phraseology, their oaths, their abuse of the clergy, and the gross libertinism of the plots and characters. The 'Spectator's' well-known description in 1712 is fully confirmed by numerous incidental references in contemporary Diaries and Letters, which show how the Stage was still suffering from the enervation and debauchery of Stuart times.

Copious information respecting industry, trade, manufactures, and social life is to be found in such works as Charles Davenant's 'Discourses'; Adam Anderson's 'Deduction'; David Macpherson's 'Annals'; Charles King's 'British Merchant'; Wood's 'Survey'; Macky's 'Journeys'; William Maitland's and Thomas Pennant's 'London'; and Gregory King's 'State and Condition of England.' A synopsis of the country and its people in the eighteenth century is given in a work by William Connor Sydney. The history of its thought has been elaborately traced and brilliantly shown by Leslie Stephen. In his 'Tour of Great Britain,' Defoe relates with his usual perspicuity many facts which his wide and close observation had collected during frequent journeys, concerning agricultural, commercial, domestic, and social life. The works of Ned Ward, author of the 'London Spy,' notwithstanding their grossness, furnish curious particulars. Numerous references to prevailing manners and customs, which remained substantially the same throughout the century, are made by the Essayists already mentioned; in Swift's 'Letters to Stella,' and by other contemporary authors. But for the period immediately preceding and following Defoe's death, in 1731, down to his own in 1764, William Hogarth's well-known works depict, with inimitable skill, and with a minute accuracy that is sometimes ruthless, if amusing, the life of England in his day. He was a wit and a caricaturist; but he was much more, both as a picture-historian and as a moralist. He limned a true portrait of his times, and it still exists for instruction and amusement. Other pictures we look at; his prints we read, as Charles Lamb says. After Hogarth came James Sayers, Henry William Bunbury, James Gillray, with his truculent satire, Thomas Rowlandson, George Cruik-

shank, the Doyles, John Leech, John Tenniel, and other delineators in 'Punch.' The history of caricature and grotesque has been ably narrated, with copious illustrations, by Thomas Wright, who has also compiled the 'Caricature History of the Four Georges,' from the innumerable squibs, broadsides, burlesques, and street literature of the period; exhibiting the petty but virulent party warfare that prevailed.

As usual, the caprices, the vagaries, and the extravagances of fashion gave rise to much satirical comment. The daily course of life of fine ladies, with their patches and powder, their pyramidal head-dresses and enormous hooped petticoats, their high-heeled shoes and crutched sticks, their decorated fans and their lap-dogs, was, for the most part, as shallow as that of the beaux and the wits. Addison and Steele in vain lashed their absurdities with the whip of satire. Drums, routs, masquerades; visits to Vauxhall Gardens or Ranelagh; hours spent in auction-rooms, shops, and hot baths; with tea, scandal, and frolic, made up the sum of existence. Addison also censured, but without effect, the oaths with which fashionable dames interlarded their frivolous chatter, and which Young declared were used to supply the vacancy of sense. It was a profane age. "Our armies swore terribly in Flanders," said Uncle Toby, maintaining the character for which Joan of Arc twitted the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Warwick, that they could not conquer France, even though they had "a hundred thousand Goddams," the usual nickname given on the Continent to the English. When ladies went to church, it was to see and to be seen; to ogle, and flirt, and gossip. Steele reproves their practice of knitting in the Chapel Royal, St. James's, because they were "then in the immediate presence of God and her Majesty, who were both affronted together." Women were regarded as mere puppets and playthings. The high-flown classical and pastoral imagery in which they were addressed was notoriously insincere. Their education was grossly neglected. Scarcely one good house in a hundred possessed a musical instrument. Walpole's letters to Queen Caroline, his reported conversation with her, and the topics discussed at his own table, so long as the guests

had power to articulate, are but instances of the prevailing style. Young recapitulates, in a satire upon the women of his day, the numerous stages of vacuity through which they ran, and the laborious trifles that occupied them, as Pope does, less minutely, in his 'Mrs. Blount.'

The fashionable beau, like the fine ladies of that period, received his visitors in bed until noon; and then, after a long time devoted to his toilet, with its scents and perfumes, its pomatum and powder, its velvet and silk garments of bright hues, a huge wig, a three-cornered hat, and a sword, he dined at two; repaired to one of the coffee-houses or chocolate-houses where reputed wits resorted; or lounged in the Park and ogled the ladies; or went to some place like Hockley-in-the-Hole, where cock-fighting or pugilism might be witnessed and freely gambled on, until it was time to go to the theatre; not to attend to the play, but to see and to be seen, and to laugh and talk with acquaintances as empty-headed as himself. The performance ended, he strolled into Clare Market, and paid a shilling to amuse himself with the fantastic, impudent burlesques of Orator Henley (1692–1756), gibbeted by Pope, as "embrowned with native bronze," and by Hogarth as the roystering parson who presides over the veteran topers in a Modern Midnight Conversation. Finally, he went to a fashionable party where high play formed the chief amusement. If he wrote a letter it was with difficulty, and the words were spelt in an arbitrary and phonetic fashion. He had no envelopes, and the missive had to be folded and sealed with a huge blob of wax, and entrusted to the uncertain mercies of the post, unless sent by hand. If he was of the type of the Rake delineated by Hogarth, he surrounded himself with jockeys, musicians, fencing and dancing-masters, bullies, and prize-fighters, and other needy and greedy adventurers, who made him their prey; or he sought to retrieve his shattered fortunes in a gambling-hell like the one shown in the same series of prints.

The froth and scum that floated to the surface, and the inanity and hollowness, the vice and heartlessness of fashionable life, with its baseness and debauchery, and its craving after riot and excitement, are shown by

Horace Walpole and many other writers, and, still more vividly, in the exact though minute and tedious portraiture of the times given in such works as Samuel Richardson's (1689–1761) 'Pamela,' 'Clarissa Harlowe,' and 'Sir Charles Grandison.' Much of the sentiment is hollow, and the morality is mawkish, giving rise to the revolt which produced Henry Fielding's (1707–1754) works, with their vigorous outspokenness. Coleridge said that to take up Fielding after Richardson is like emerging from a sick-room heated by stoves into an open lawn on a breezy day in May, because of the agreeable transition from excited sensibilities and overpowering pathos to light humour, lively description, and keen but sportive satire. Fielding's strong, healthy, unconventional nature revolted from the moral priggishness of 'Virtue Rewarded.' It angered him that crowds of ladies sighed and wept over Richardson's ponderous, long-drawn, and fictitious tales, with their wearisome platitudes, their attenuated moral maxims, their morbid tone, and their impossible situations. Fielding resolved to write a contrast and a corrective, purporting to be the adventures of Pamela's brother, 'Joseph Andrews'; but, in quizzing Richardson, he opened up an original vein of his own. His 'Jonathan Wild' is a masterpiece of irony. 'Tom Jones' is a marvel of invention, character, and wit, of which readers never weary; with its amusing scenes and adventures, its sparkling sketches of high and low life, its genial satire, and its scorn of meanness and hypocrisy. He has stronger claims to be a writer of history than the authors of many elaborate fictions known under that name. Before he discovered the true bent of his genius, he wasted his powers in writing third-rate plays until he was thirty-five. He died twelve years later in Lisbon. In like manner, Sir Walter Scott was forty-three when he entered the field of his greatest literary renown, and all his best work was accomplished within ten years.

From such novels, and from others of inferior rank, like the once popular but now forgotten 'Life and Opinions of John Buncle, Esq.,' by the eccentric, if not insane, Thomas Amory (1691–1788), modern readers may learn what were the manners, the opinions, and the

topics of conversation of the squirearchy and gentry, and how elegant and high-born dames wrote and talked. The 'Letters' and 'Memoirs' of the Lord Fribbles and the Lady Frails of the period contain phrases and descriptions for which the word "indelicate" is far too mild. All this detracts from the boasted literature of the greater part of the eighteenth century. De Quincey stigmatizes "its extreme artificiality, its sheepish reserve upon all impassioned grandeurs, and its shameless outrages upon the decencies of human nature." The guilt or innocence of manners very much depends upon conventional standards. Dress and speech which would be deemed disgraceful in one age or country are respectable in another. There may not have been more of actual vice, but there was far less regard to outward proprieties. Thackeray says, in 'The Virginians,'—"The finest folks, and the most delicate ladies, called things and people by names which we never utter in good company now-a-days. And so much the better on the whole. We may not be more virtuous, but it is something to be more decent; perhaps we are not more pure, but of a surety we are more cleanly." The style and the undoubted genius of the great writers of the age are marred by moral putridity. The Romans of the time of the Cæsars prided themselves upon the refinement and urbanity of their speech, which scarcely veiled hideous grossness, brutal jesting, abominable cruelty, nameless vices, and revolting crimes. The great mass of eighteenth century novels are contemptible in plot, poor in incident, insipid as narratives, stupid in dialogue, of interminable length and ponderous dulness, and false in sentiment. The men riot in dissipation, and the women indulge in intrigue. Sir Walter Scott, no mean authority, describes them as "huge folios of insanity, over which our ancestors yawned themselves to sleep." Yet, in spite of their repellent dreariness and coarseness, they delineate the age. Its general features are also described with inimitable force and skill in Thackeray's 'English Humorists,' in his 'Esmond,' and, partly, in his 'Four Georges.'

Country gentlemen, as a class, were ignorant and boorish, loud-voiced and blasphemous, devoted to drink-

ing and the chase, and to what Leslie Stephen calls "the boisterous humours of ponderous, well-fed masses of animated beefsteak." The 'Connoisseur' of 1755 draws an unlovely picture of their habits. What they were then, they continued to be for generations. Addison's charming creation of Sir Roger de Coverley, and Richardson's pompous and ceremonious Sir Charles Grandison, with his self-consciousness and moral aphorisms, are not typical English gentlemen of that day, either in town or country. Their actual character, manners, and attainments can be appreciated only by force of exact contrast with such delineations, or with Fielding's Alworthy, or Goldsmith's Sir William Thornton. Of the average squire, sport was the chief occupation and the consuming passion. He read nothing, and could scarcely write. He presided at the market dinner; dispensed justice in a rough fashion, and hospitality with a free hand, if somewhat coarse in style; lived an easy, jolly, roystering life among his tenants and neighbours; knew and cared nothing about the outside world; voted stolidly with his party, and uttered their parrot-cries; despised learning, intelligence, and refinement; and after heavy feeding in the day, contrived to go to bed drunk every night. His wife and daughters were chiefly occupied in cooking and preserving; in the preparation of cordials; in needlework and tattling; and in acting the part of Lady Bountiful to their poorer neighbours, or dosing them with home-compounded medicines. The consumption of strong October ale and of other potent liquors was enormous. Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, whose private character stood high for that age, not infrequently entered Queen Anne's presence intoxicated. Bolingbroke often spent the night in a drunken debauch, and proceeded to discharge his duties as Secretary of State by means of a wet napkin bound round his head. Addison, Steele, and most persons having any pretensions to literary or social position, were freely addicted to the bottle, and the punchbowl. The dinner described in Swift's 'Polite Conversation' is but a slightly exaggerated picture. The coarse, hilarious entertainments of Walpole, at his Norfolk country seat, were matters of common talk, but

they awakened no surprise in an age accustomed to the speech and habits of the Westerns and the Topealls. Indeed his own capacity in this respect made him popular. Carteret's brilliant intellect was clouded, and Pulteney's life was enfeebled in the same way.

Hard drinking continued to be fashionable for more than a century. No social stigma attached to habitual intoxication. Gillray's caricatures freely expose the practice. Sheridan's bibulous face was a stock subject of ridicule, and lent itself to the exaggerations of lampoons. Pitt's indulgence in port was not singular. George Selwyn and other gossips give many instances of bacchanalian revels, aped by the lower orders, with coarser drinks, so far as their means allowed; and by domestic servants, whose extravagance and affectation are ridiculed by the Rev. James Townley (1715–1778), in his farce of 'High Life Below Stairs.' A passion for gin-drinking broke out after 1724, when the distilling trade was thrown open on payment of certain duties, giving rise to Hogarth's Dantesque pictures of Beer-street and Gin-lane, and to Smollett's rhetorical description,—"Here you may get drunk for a penny, and dead drunk for twopence, with clean straw to lie upon for nothing." Sir John Fielding, brother to the novelist, and himself a London magistrate, in a pamphlet 'On the Increase of Robbers,' published in 1751, declared that gin was "the principal sustenance (if it may be so called) of more than one hundred thousand people in the metropolis." It was computed, on the Excise returns, that more than eleven million gallons of spirits were consumed in that year, being a six-fold increase in forty years. There were seventeen thousand gin-shops in London. One effect was to check the growth of the population, both in the birth rate and by increased mortality. Remedial measures were attempted; such as restricting the power of magistrates to issue licenses, subjecting public-houses to stringent regulations, and increasing the penalties on surreptitious sales. Nothing came of all this, or of Fielding's exposure. Nearly fifty years later, Dr. Patrick Colquhoun, another magistrate, in a work that went through four editions before 1800, gave appalling details of the various crimes and misdemeanours by which life

and property in London were endangered, and suggested remedies that were left unheeded.

Tea was introduced from China in the second half of the seventeenth century. Pepys records his having first tasted it in 1660, as a rarity. Its use did not become general for a long time, owing to the high prices, ranging from sixteen to fifty shillings a pound. Coffee began to be used about the same period. Both were assailed as outlandish and unhealthy drinks, strong ale in copious draughts being the usual beverage. The opening of coffee-houses was regarded with suspicion and dislike; partly on this ground, but chiefly because it was feared they would be centres of sedition. A duty of eighteenpence a gallon was imposed in 1670 upon the makers and sellers of chocolate, sherbet, and tea. The excisemen had great difficulty in levying this tax, and the results were incommensurate with the trouble and expense, so that a Customs' duty of five shillings a pound on tea was substituted in 1688. This plan continued, with various fluctuations of the rate, for nearly two centuries. The principal coffee-houses in London were Will's, Button's, Child's, Garraway's, White's Jonathan's, the Grecian, Lloyd's, and the Smyrna. Of well-known clubs there were the Calves'-Head—said to have been instituted in ridicule of Charles I.—the Kit-Cat, the March, the October, the Beefsteak, the Saturday, and many others. These clubs and coffee-houses were political, literary, professional, or social, but many of them degenerated into resorts for gambling, just as the saloons of theatres become places of assignation. Gentlemanly bullies, known as Mohocks—a generic term derived from a tribe of Indians of North America—or their rivals, the Scourers, or the Hectors, "sons of Belial, flown with insolence and wine," made the streets unsafe at night with their rough practical jokes, breaking windows, removing shop-signs, upsetting sedan-chairs, beating passers-by, pricking them with swords, mutilating their features, and committing indecent assaults upon women. Another instance of ruffianism was furnished by the Hell-Fire Club, suppressed by the Privy Council in 1721. The lions and the armoury in the Tower were not more popular than a visit to the

unhappy lunatics strapped, manacled, and chained in Bedlam, one of the show-places of the day, of which Hogarth gives a realistic scene in the last print of the Rake's Progress. Foreign animals, giants and dwarfs, monstrosities and freaks of Nature, were eagerly gazed at then, as formerly. Bartholomew and Southwark Fairs were in their glory, as places where vulgar fun ran fast and furious amidst a throng of peddlers' stalls, raffling-tables, and drinking booths, besides the usual shows of conjurors and acrobats, puppets and wax figures. Horse-racing was coming into vogue ; and the out-door sports of bear or bull-baiting, prize-fights, wrestling, and trials of skill with weapons, completed the ordinary round of amusement.

Irregular and clandestine marriages were a crying evil, in spite of legislative attempts to stop them by heavy penalties. Unions, perfectly legal and binding, took place, not only in churches, but in the Fleet and other prisons, in taverns, and elsewhere ; performed as a means of livelihood by dissolute and bankrupt clergymen. The scandal was terminated by an Act passed in 1753 ; but a new injustice was inflicted, by requiring all persons, including Nonconformists and Roman Catholics, to be married according to the rites of the Established Church. The fresh disability remained so late as 1836. Pepys describes the coarse usages that prevailed, even at stately and ceremonious weddings ; and they continued for a lengthened period. There was also lavish display at funerals, and no pains were spared to render them miserable and ghastly, as well as expensive. The custom of giving hatbands, gloves, and mourning-rings was carried to an extreme. At the funeral of Pepys, in 1703, one hundred and twenty-three rings, of from ten to twenty shillings in value, were given, besides suits of clothes or pieces of broadcloth. To check the importation of linen, and to encourage the use of home woollens, it was enacted in 1670, and again in 1685, that the dead were to be buried only in woollen cloth. The clergy were to keep a record of proper affidavits of this being done. A fine of five pounds was to be levied for infringement ; half to go to the informer, according to the usual hateful method. These Acts were not repealed until

1815, though, like all sumptuary laws, they had long fallen into desuetude and become inoperative.

The passion for gaming continued and intensified, in defiance of prohibitory laws. It was as strong among ladies, who spent night after night in excited and eager play. Lady Cowper's 'Diary' records that the lowest stake at fashionable tables was two hundred guineas. Ombre superseded Primero. It is vividly described in the third canto of Pope's 'Rape of the Lock,' unapproachable as the epic of artificial life at that time. Piquet was also introduced. Basset was a popular and exciting game, resembling Faro. Other games were Cribbage, All-Fours, French Ruff, and Putt. A Duke of Devonshire staked and lost an estate on a game of Basset. Lord Chesterfield was a slave to the vice. Charles James Fox, in early life, was notorious for his long and high play, if, indeed, he ever wholly emancipated himself from the habit. He was initiated into it as a boy by his father, the first Lord Holland (1705–1774), who amassed a colossal fortune in devious ways as Paymaster of the Forces. His vast accumulations were rapidly dissipated by his sons. Charles once played at Hazard for twenty-two hours, and lost upwards of ten thousand pounds. His brother Stephen lost thirteen thousand at one sitting, and the two sons ran through a quarter of a million in this way in a short period. High bets were made on chance occurrences, often the most absurd and improbable. Heavy stakes were deposited that certain persons would or would not marry by a given day; or that a child would be born; or about its sex, or the colour of its hair and eyes; or as to the prices of commodities; or respecting the state of the weather, the arrival of a vessel, or many other hypothetical events; with lotteries for almost every conceivable object, from houses, land, plate, or jewels, to advowsons and ships. An Act was passed in 1712 to put a stop to many of these schemes, under a penalty of five hundred pounds; yet, with gross inconsistency, lotteries for raising large sums for national purposes, including Marlborough's wars, and the war to prevent American Independence, were sanctioned by Parliament, and were continued almost annually down to 1824.

The gambling spirit broke out in an extreme form in 1720. What is known as the South Sea Bubble, blown with the active connivance of the Government, led to the floating of a large number of companies, some being absurd, and many fraudulent. Among them, like those so graphically described by Macaulay in connection with the mania of 1688 and the following years, were insurances against highwaymen, against lying, against death by drinking Geneva gin; schemes for the cure of broken-winded horses and of lunatics; for melting sawdust and shavings into deal boards of any length and free from knots; for the more effectual blacking of shoes; and for the transmutation of animals. England became a country of projectors, like Balnibarbi in Swift's 'Gulliver.' The usual mad course was pursued, as in the case of the tulip mania of Holland in 1630. Prices of stocks ran up, a few clever speculators made large fortunes, but the many were plunged in disaster and ruin when the reaction began. For a time business, and even pleasure, were neglected in the keen pursuit of wealth, to be suddenly acquired by a stroke of luck; but the bubble burst, and then ensued a time of exhaustion, misery, and vain repentance, to be followed, when the lesson was forgotten, by other wild seasons of speculation, like that of 1825, or the Railway craze of 1846. Not in connection with this particular mania, although the product of the spirit of the day, and as a victim demanded in a fit of panic and resentment, the Earl of Macclesfield was impeached in 1725 for nepotism and malversation in his office of Lord Chancellor. He suffered, not so much for his actual faults, as for the evils connected with a bad system of ancient date, under which subordinate offices were sold. Being declared guilty, he was fined thirty thousand pounds, and was struck off the Privy Council. James Craggs, Secretary of State, of whom Pope writes in high terms, frightened himself into the grave at the prospect of an inquiry into his share of the South Sea scheme. Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sent to the Tower for complicity, and was expelled from the House of Commons. The Earl of Sunderland, who received £50,000 of stock without any consideration, had to resign his post as First Commissioner of the Treasury.

CHAPTER LXVI.

AN INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL PICTURE.

A.D. 1702–1760.

Houses and furniture in the eighteenth century were for the most part solid and plain. The modern rococo revival known as the Queen Anne style of architecture is a resemblance in little more than in name. Mahogany from Honduras and other parts of South America was coming into use. A rage prevailed for Chinese porcelain. Flint-glass was extensively made in England, but Venice still supplied most of the plate-glass for mirrors. The art of making what are called Brussels carpets was introduced into Kidderminster, from Tournay, in 1745. All these articles were confined to the houses of the nobility and of wealthy merchants. Black footmen and page-boys were all the fashion. They were, in reality, slaves, and often wore a silver collar round their necks, as a badge of servitude, if not actually sold in this country. Snuff was freely used by both sexes, and the boxes were elaborate and costly. Smoking was much more common than it had ever been since the first introduction of tobacco. Every gentleman wore a sword and carried an ornamental cane. His watch was attached to a ribbon in the fob of his breeches, with a seal or two hanging down outside. The size and style may be judged of from numerous specimens in the Library of the Corporation of London, and in the collection of the Clockmakers' Company. Umbrellas, of a rough and clumsy pattern, are spoken of, though of much greater antiquity elsewhere. They were not generally carried in England, and not at all by men, being regarded as effeminate. They were also unpopular, because used by the French, then, and for a lengthened period, the national antipathy. Jonas Hanway (1712–1786), a retired Russia merchant, whose name is honourably connected with the Marine Society, the Magdalen Hospital, the Foundling, and other benevolent institutions, was one of the first to brave the ridicule of the ignorant, by availing himself of the convenient shelter of an umbrella, if he did not actually

introduce it. Sedan chairs were the common mode of street travel for those who did not possess coaches. They were often gorgeously painted and upholstered, and could be hired, with the bearers, for a guinea a week. The silent highway of the Thames was not so much used as formerly. Coachmen, chairmen, and watermen were notorious for their bad language and ruffianism.

London streets were ill-paved, and foot-paths were only beginning to be introduced. A row of posts and chains roughly indicated the line. Foul kennels were filled with refuse, and overflowed with liquid filth after every storm. The surface drainage ran into channels like the Old Bourne, Ty Bourne, the West Bourne, and the Fleet Ditch, which was the main sewer for the City, and discharged itself into the Thames at Blackfriars. Swift describes in revolting terms the state of this pestilential ditch, in his 'City Shower,' as Pope does in the 'Dunciad.' Passengers had to thread their devious way as they best could along streets, lanes, and alleys reeking with mud and garbage, to avoid which they wore pattens or clogs. There were perpetual contests for the wall, so as to escape vehicles and the rain discharged from spouts and overhanging eaves of houses. From the labyrinthine mazes of fetid courts and dingy alleys, the abodes of crime and misery, even under the shadow of lordly mansions, issued the footpad, the cutpurse, and the pickpocket, to prey upon passers by. John Gay's 'Trivia,' published in 1716, and Hogarth's pictures, reveal the horrible and perilous condition of the City streets. The first Paving Act for Westminster was not passed until 1762. Twenty six years earlier a systematic attempt was made to light the chief London thoroughfares by means of flickering and unsavoury oil lamps at intervals. Linkmen or boys, with their torches, had to be hired by those who were compelled to be out after dark. Houses were not numbered. Tradesmen displayed swinging and creaking signboards. The water supply was inadequate and unhealthy. Wells and pumps, in a crowded city full of graveyards and cesspools, were supplemented in some districts by water taken from the Thames, which was a common sewer. The pipes were small hollowed trees. The supply to the houses was intermittent, and

was kept in barrels or in leaden cisterns, a prolific source of the epidemics that periodically raged for more than two hundred years.

Country roads were almost invariably bad. In many districts they were mere tracks, reduced to a state of sludge by rain. Even those in the Home Counties resembled bogs. Sussex enjoyed an unenviable notoriety in this respect. Vehicles had to be made heavy and strong, to endure the rough usage through deep ruts and tenacious mud, and over faggots and stones. A long journey was a penance. Six or eight horses were usually required to drag the lumbering coaches or waggons through the quagmires and dust-heaps called roads. To accomplish thirty miles in fine weather during a long summer day was regarded as a wonderful feat. The journey was always suspended at sunset for safety. Country districts were isolated from one another and from London, and a journey to the county town was a formidable undertaking. The advent of a stranger aroused curiosity and wonder, and sometimes led to brutal violence. Postmasters were authorized to charge threepence a mile for a horse, with fourpence each stage of ten miles for a guide. The cost of carriage by waggon or packhorse was five shillings per hundredweight for a hundred miles. Stage-coaches were beginning to be introduced early in the century, amidst much selfish opposition and ignorant prejudice. Not until 1774 did one run between Manchester, Warrington, and Liverpool, and then only thrice a week. One reason was the expense, and time was not then an object. The number of hackney coaches for London was fixed in 1693 at seven hundred. An additional hundred were assigned in 1710. They were clumsy, rickety, creaking vehicles, to hold four persons, and drawn by two horses. Fares were a shilling a mile, or ten shillings for a day of twelve hours. Not every town could boast, like Manchester, in 1750, of a stand of hackney coaches in one of the principal streets. The mails arrived in and departed from London on alternate days, weather, roads, and robbers permitting. Remote towns and villages were fitfully supplied. No Census was taken before 1801 ; but the population at the close of Queen Anne's reign is estimated at about five millions

for England and Wales, two millions for Ireland, and one for Scotland. The proportion in the agricultural districts was much larger than in the towns, as compared with modern times. London extended in two long and straggling lines, five miles from East to West, and two from North to South. It had about seven hundred thousand people, which was thought to be too vast.

Medical science had but slightly advanced since the Middle Ages. Hogarth satirized it in the Undertakers' Arms, a print in which are given the portraits of a dozen well-known doctors, each wearing the five-storied wig then in vogue, and holding the traditional and inseparable gold-headed cane with a vinaigrette as defence against infection. Bleeding, as had been the case for ages, was a universal remedy, and was resorted to periodically as a supposed precaution. Numbers must have died from depletion, and from violent purgatives freely administered. Adam Smith, writing a little later, computes the value of all the drugs and appliances in the shop of a country apothecary at no more than twenty-five pounds. The treatise on 'Domestic Medicine,' by Dr. William Buchan (1729–1805), ran through numerous editions and was diligently studied for generations. Steele has embalmed in one of his Essays amusing anecdotes of the empirics of his day. The 'Gentleman's Magazine' of 1740 gives a list of nearly two hundred then practising, successors of the impudent Dr. Rock. Garrick transfixed with an epigram one John Hill, a pseudo-medical man, whose sole merit was his knowledge of botany, and who aspired to literary fame: "For physic and farces his equal there scarce is; his farces are physic; his physic a farce is." Cowper gibbeted one Katterfelto, a notorious quack. Goldsmith's death was attributed to his persistence in taking James's Fever Powders, which were for a long time popular. Horace Walpole declared that Poor Noll would not have died if he had taken more. John Newbery, the publisher, was proprietor of some of these specifics. Fielding, Gray, and many celebrities believed in them. George III., according to Mrs. Delany, dosed the princesses with them. Mention is made in the pharmacopœias then used of red coral, earth-worms, tips of crabs' claws, elk-

hoofs, boar's teeth, frog's liver, and other repulsive ingredients. Sympathetic pills, tar-water, and stomach brushes are among the articles commonly advertised and strongly recommended. Queen Anne was the last of the English sovereigns who employed the royal touch for the cure of scrofula, or King's Evil; and Dr. Samuel Johnson, when a child, was one of the last to undergo the process. Only once could William III. be prevailed upon to perform the ceremony, from which he revolted with instinctive disdain; and then he added,—"God give you better health, and more sense." Russian influenza was very fatal in London in 1720, the first instance on record of a long series.

The uncertain period between the old empiricism and modern science is bridged over by the names of Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689); John Radcliffe (1650–1714), founder of the Library, the Observatory, and the Infirmary at Oxford; Richard Mead (1673–1754); Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753); and William Heberden (1710–1800). The collections made by Sloane formed the basis of the British Museum. They were purchased under an Act of Parliament in 1753, and exhibited in Montague House, Bloomsbury. Bath, as described in the bright satire and rattling rhymes of Christopher Anstey, the place where Beau Nash ruled with a rod of iron as master of the ceremonies, with Tunbridge, Epsom, and Harrogate, were the most frequented Spas. Mineral springs of old date flowed at Hampstead, Islington, Sadler's Wells, Sydenham, and elsewhere round London. Those of Cheltenham were discovered about 1730, and soon became popular, until a rage set in for Buxton, in the changing fashion of the hour. Sea-bathing is rarely mentioned before the middle of the century, when Brighthelmstone, Margate, and Weymouth attracted many persons who were weary of the Spas. Cowper censures, in his poem on 'Retirement,' the eagerness with which all classes and ages rushed to the coast, "ingenious to diversify dull life." The clever but flighty Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, on her return from the East in 1722, introduced inoculation for the fearful scourge of small-pox, which swept away many thousands annually. This means of preventing the spread of

contagion had been practised in China and in India from remote antiquity, whence it was carried to Syria. It did not become general for a quarter of a century, being opposed, not only by the medical profession, but by the clergy. One preacher asserted that Job's distemper was confluent small-pox, and that he was inoculated by the devil. Dr. Edward Jenner's discovery of vaccination, made in 1796, after a prolonged series of observations and experiments, was rewarded with thirty thousand pounds by Parliament.

The manners of the peasantry exhibited a roughness, a stolid apathy, and a cheerless monotony of which Gay furnishes a sombre description in 'The Shepherd's Walk.' The chief relief to the dreary round of toil was found in drinking to soddenness in the village ale-house, and in wakes and itinerant fairs, where rustics contended with each other in wrestling, cudgel-playing, foot-races, grinning through a horse-collar, climbing a greasy pole, whistling, or eating hot hasty-pudding against time. A common sport at Christmas was yawning for a cheese, the prize being awarded to the one who gave the widest and most natural yawn, so as to set the company agape in sympathy. There was a shocking amount of coarseness and savagery, especially at elections, at the public whipping of men and women, and before the perennial gallows. The latter demoralizing exhibition, often with several victims, was to be seen at Tyburn every month on a Monday morning. It was the resort of fashionable idlers, of the type of Lord Tomnoddy, in Barham's 'Ingoldsby Legends,' who paid high prices for eligible seats in adjacent houses. George Augustus Selwyn (1719–1791) had a morbid appetite for such spectacles, which he never missed, and also for seeing deceased friends and acquaintances. He called to inquire after the first Lord Holland, during his fatal illness, and orders were given that he should be admitted the next time: "If I am alive, I shall be delighted to see him; and if I am dead, he will be pleased to see me." Below such favoured spectators, in the roadway, surged a rough mob, who regarded the horrible show as a delectation belonging to them by right. It was usual to manifest approval at the bearing of some hardened and defiant

scoundrel, whose crime was peculiarly atrocious; and to assail with execrations and filthy missiles any miserable wretch who chanced to be unpopular, or who made a craven end. Death must have been a welcome escape to many from the crowded and fever-stricken gaols where prisoners of both sexes, including the innocent, the mere novices in crime, and those of every shade of wickedness, were confined with political offenders, debtors, and lunatics. Treated like wild beasts, they became such.

Newgate, in particular, was a Pandemonium. The gaolers had no salaries. Some paid large sums for their places, reimbursing themselves by fees, bribes, and extortion. They sold bad food and worse drink to the prisoners at exorbitant prices, appropriated the contributions of the benevolent, and reduced or increased the punishments, especially in wearing fetters, at their own pleasure, but always for a money consideration. They made large sums by exhibiting notorious felons, and were under no supervision or restraint. The living were sometimes locked up with a corpse. The sick were left to die untended. The filth, disease, wretchedness, vice, and mortality that prevailed were shocking. When a prisoner's term of sentence had expired, he was detained until monstrous illegal prison fees were paid. Instances occurred of friendless victims pining for months, and even for years, because of inability to meet the demands of these harpies. Nor were the Queen's Bench, the Marshalsea, and other prisons, any better. Those in the provinces were worse, if possible. Not until 1728 was a Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the state of the prisons, through the energy and courage of General James Oglethorpe. A festering mass of iniquity and suffering was brought to light; but, meanwhile, hundreds had rotted, perished, and been utterly forgotten, including many whose only crime was being poor and friendless. No effectual remedy was even then devised. Fielding's 'Amelia,' published in 1751, was avowedly designed to expose some of the more glaring evils of the prison system, and the corruption of the few stipendiary or trading magistrates, as shown in Justice Thrasher. In 'Jonathan Wild' are described the knavery and in-

humanity of the gaoler who keeps Heartfree's reprieve a secret until he has exacted twenty pounds from Friendly as the price of an hour's respite. Goldsmith narrates what his Vicar had to endure in the debtors' prison.

John Howard (1726–1790) had not begun his great work of prison reform, which has justly earned for him the title of Philanthropist, in spite of Carlyle's sneering tribute in 'Model Prisons,' where he calls Howard "the innocent cause . . . of the Benevolent-Platform Fever." What he saw during his tenure of office as high sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1773, led him to devote his life and his fortune to an inquiry into the prisons at home and abroad. He pursued his quest with unwearying benevolence until he succumbed, January 23, 1790, at Kherson, in Southern Russia, to a malignant fever, contracted in his ministrations. Nor was any distinction observed between prisoners for debt and those for criminal offences. Indeed, debt was regarded as a heinous crime. Creditors could gratify their vengeance, and condone their own recklessness, by incarcerating debtors for years, and even for life. At that very time, a woman died in Derby Gaol, after a detention of forty-five years for a debt of nineteen pounds; and the barbarous law of imprisonment for debt continued in operation long subsequently. The criminal code was written in characters of blood, and constant additions were made to the list of capital offences. By the end of the century they numbered more than two hundred. Pope's satire was too true:—"Wretches hang, that jurymen may dine." Perjury was a recognised trade. Those who followed it, and who waited to be hired, were known in Westminster Hall by wearing a straw in their shoes. Thief-takers, who were also thief-makers and trainers, formed a profession, and were usually in league with the scoundrels at whose rascality they connived so long as it suited their purpose. Bow-street Runners, nicknamed Robin Redbreasts, from their scarlet waistcoats, were appointed in 1749, and they continued to be the chief agents for arresting criminals until the establishment by Sir Robert Peel of a police-force in 1829.

Stephen's 'History of the Criminal Law' reveals the monstrous absurdity and barbarity that prevailed. Severe

punishments did not act as a deterrent to crime. The main roads swarmed with highwaymen; in sight of the remains of such of their fraternity as had been captured and were swinging in chains at many a four-wont way. Desperadoes, mounted on fleet horses, infested such open spaces as Hampstead, Hounslow, and Bagshot Heaths, Finchley and Wimbledon Commons, over which the chief lines of travel led through acres of furze and bulrushes. It was the same in the neighbourhood of large provincial towns. Frequenters of markets and fairs had to journey in companies for mutual protection. The continued and aggravated evils caused by the existence of numerous rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars led to a consolidation in 1713 of existing Statutes. Justices were authorized to make searches by night, in order to apprehend such persons, and transmit them to their places of legal settlement, after they had been publicly and severely whipped, unless it were deemed fit to send them to a House of Correction. Any incorrigible beggars or vagabonds might be made over for seven years as servants—*i.e.*, slaves, either in Great Britain or the Colonies. When these were closed by the American War, convict-galleys were established in the Thames, at Portsmouth, and elsewhere, which gave place to transportation to Australia. Batches of prisoners were sometimes given the option of serving on board the Royal Navy. Their desperate character furnished a pretext for the brutal discipline that prevailed. The chief source of supply, however, was found in the abominable press-gangs which prevailed throughout the eighteenth century. Hundreds of men, whether seafaring or not, were seized at a time, dragged from their homes and families at a moment's notice, or taken from merchant ships on returning from lengthened voyages, and in numerous cases were never more heard of. In 'Roderick Random,' Smollett describes the system, and the awful life on board the floating hells. His account is partly autobiographical, and is confirmed on unquestionable authority.

With this question of crime arose the ever-recurring and perplexing subject of pauperism. The famous Poor-Law Statutes of Elizabeth contain no definition of parochial settlement. In the long course of legislation,

a person had been regarded as appertaining to the parish where he was born, or where he had dwelt for three years. In the case of vagabonds whose place of birth could not be ascertained, one year was the limit. The Act of 1662 sets forth, in the customary phraseology, that the continual increase of the poor throughout the country "had become very great, and exceedingly burdensome," and that they resorted in crowds to certain places. The direct purpose of the Act, stripped of all qualifications and technicalities, was to enable justices, on complaint of the churchwardens or overseers, to remove any new-comer from a parish, though not applying for relief, if they thought that he was likely to become chargeable; unless he rented a tenement of ten pounds a year, or could furnish sufficient security as to his means of livelihood. Forty days' undisturbed residence were to constitute a legal settlement. The system gave rise to much collusion and fraud among officials, and to gross injustice and hardship to the industrious poor, who were virtually kept prisoners in the locality. Attempts were made before the end of the century to relax the stringency of the law. It was perceived that pauperism was being extended, and the consequent misery intensified. But the clumsy machinery for remedying the evil would not act; and the state of semi slavery continued. As Adam Smith pointed out, in his first edition of the 'Wealth of Nations,' issued in 1775, it is an evident violation of natural liberty and justice to remove a man, who has committed no misdemeanour, from a parish where he chooses to reside, or to forbid his entry into another parish where work is abundant and wages are higher. Practically, it was impossible for him to pass such an artificial boundary of his own free will, or at the call of the necessities of labour; though he might be driven out and chased on at the caprice of parochial officers, or by their selfishness. Costly litigation arose between parishes; hundreds of pounds being sometimes spent in determining the proper legal residence of a pauper. This must have been like the mines of Potosi to lawyers; but it was an intolerable burden to the ratepayers. The evil has been greatly mitigated in recent years, but England still suffers from the effects of this hateful law.

The game-laws were the remnant of the old Norman forest-laws. Blackstone says that both were "founded upon the same unreasonable notion of permanent property in wild creatures, and both productive of the same tyranny to the Commons; but with this difference, that the forest-laws established only one mighty hunter throughout the land; the game-laws have raised a little Nimrod in every manor." In 1706, an Act was passed for the better preservation of game. A similar Act of 1692 imposed a penalty alike upon the poacher and the receiver, of from five to twenty shillings, or imprisonment, in default, of from ten days to one month, with hard labour. The new Statute increased the penalty to five pounds, and the imprisonment to three months; but it held out to the poacher the inducement of half the penalty, and of pardon for himself, if he would within three months inform against the purchasers. Three years afterwards, this Act was made perpetual, with some additional provisions. During its operation, the gaols were filled with offenders; profligate habits were induced; violence was committed; and dreadful misery caused by the temptations to infringe the enactments. Yet the landed proprietors continued to uphold the system, regardless of its evils and wrongs; until again Parliament was obliged to interfere. By a Statute passed in 1831, the old system was materially changed; though the sentences still passed by country justices for infraction of the game-laws are often marked by excessive severity, as compared with offences involving other descriptions of property.

The West of England was the seat of the great wool trade, which continued to be its staple industry, as in former times, until it was transferred to Yorkshire. At Taunton, Defoe found eleven hundred looms at work, weaving common stuffs. The Forest of Dean was still the centre of the iron manufacture; the forges of the Midland Counties being supplied with pig iron, though an inferior kind was produced in Shropshire and Worcestershire. The railings round St. Paul's Cathedral were cast in Lamberhurst, Sussex, at a cost of eleven thousand pounds. The surface of the vast coal and iron field around Birmingham was then scarcely penetrated,

and the mineral treasures of Yorkshire were unknown. Great complaints continued to be made of the destruction of timber, as the iron in the West was chiefly made with charcoal. An Act of 1688 recites that most of the timber belonging to the Crown in the Forest of Dean had been used for this purpose. The method of smelting iron ore with coal was not fairly tried until after 1740, when the annual produce of iron throughout the country was only seventeen thousand tons. In 1893 it was seven millions. Leicestershire was renowned for sheep and horses, and was the seat of the worsted stocking-trade. Frame-weaving was general through the district that extended to Nottingham and Derby. The lead-mines around the High Peak were worked in primitive fashion, without mechanical aid. Not until 1699 was the ancient law against "multiplying gold and silver" relaxed, so as to allow of the refining of lead ore. Its vexatious and absurd restrictions were enforced so late as 1892 against attempts to open up a new and important industry in Wales. The Statute Book abounds with such instances of blind legislation, the outcome of the old Protective Spirit. One other instance occurs at this period, in connection with the salt industry. Indignant public opinion eventually swept it away, with many other iniquitous imposts.

The district now known as the Potteries had a limited manufacture of common cooking ware. Owing to a recent discovery that brown-ware could be glazed with salt, instead of powdered lead, Burslem, in 1700, had twenty-two glazing ovens. Suitable clays abounded, but the art of producing the finer sorts of earthenware was unknown, until small quantities began to be made about the time of the Revolution. The famous ware of Holland, called Delft, was a luxury for the rich. Wooden trenchers and common brown earthenware were still used by the cottager and the small tradesman. After the middle of the century, Josiah Wedgwood brought science and taste to the manufacture, producing specimens admirable alike for beauty of design and for their general utility. The trading and social condition of Manchester was primitive. The population was under fifty thousand, including the scattered suburbs. The

manufacture of fustian, girth-webs, dimities, ticking, and tapes was carried on by small masters, with the aid of apprentices residing with them. Liverpool built its first dock in 1700. Nine years later, it had eighty-four ships and nine hundred sailors. Its trade and Customs' receipts rapidly grew, and the American traffic was diverted from Bristol, which gradually declined from its ancient renown as a port, mainly from neglect to improve the estuary of the Avon, and to provide needful docks. The advantages of its natural position did not avail against the enterprise of Liverpool. The trade of the Port of London must have appeared large when the Pool was crowded with colliers and vessels from abroad. There was only one small dock. The tonnage of English shipping, which had declined by more than one-half during the disgraceful reign of Charles II., speedily revived after the Treaty of Ryswick, in 1697. For each of the years 1713–5 the average of the ships cleared outwards was 448,000 tons, nineteen-twentieths being native. The value of the exports was nearly seven millions.

From Durham to Newcastle, the coal-industry gave employment to what was then deemed a large number of persons. It is mentioned as a matter of wonder that the quantity sent to London "by prodigious fleets of ships" was nearly three hundred thousand tons every year; not one-twentieth part of the consumption of the metropolis at the present day. The total output of coal in 1893, for the whole of the United Kingdom, was one hundred and sixty-four million tons. The price in London in April, 1702, was thirty-three shillings a chaldron of thirty-six bushels, besides a tax of two shillings, imposed for seven years in the previous November, towards finishing St. Paul's Cathedral. It was increased in 1711 to three shillings, to aid in building the fifty new churches in the metropolis (*ante*, p. 104). A further levy of one shilling was continued down to 1890 by the Corporation of the City of London, who were to use the money for purposes of local improvement. It had expended, within a comparatively recent period, six and a half millions upon new streets, markets, schools, libraries, art-galleries, and music; in helping to acquire for the public open spaces like Epping Forest, Burnham

Beeches, and suburban parks; in freeing bridges on the Thames, and in contributing to the enormous cost of the Embankment. When this tax was repealed, the coal-owners and merchants, and not the consumers, reaped the benefit. The population of the Tyneside towns is now greatly in excess of the inhabitants of the whole of Northumberland and Durham two hundred years ago. The expansion of mining and manufacturing industry may be dated, in great part, from a private Bill of 1698, entitled,—'An Act for the encouragement of a New Invention of Thomas Savery, for raising Water, and occasioning Motion in all sorts of Mill-work, by the impellent force of Fire.' To Savery belongs the merit of producing a vacuum by the condensation of steam. Denys Papin was carrying on similar experiments in France; and in 1705, Thomas Newcomen, a working blacksmith, carried out the principle of the piston in his atmospheric engine, the first that was made practically and extensively useful.

Little more land was under cultivation than at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Field-turnips were introduced from Germany by Viscount Townshend, but it was long ere their cultivation became general. The growth of clover had been advocated before the Revolution, but the value of green crops was not known. The old system of fallows, by which half of the cultivated land lay idle, was doggedly adhered to. Horse-hoeing was deemed a costly experiment which had ruined its originator, Jethro Tull (1680–1740). The description of his system of husbandry was translated into French by Duhamel, with notes and records of his own experiments, and was largely used by Diderot in his article on agriculture in the 'Encyclopédie.' Cobbett, with his practical common-sense, perceived the merits and the defects of Tull's method, when issuing in 1822 a new edition of that unfortunate projector's works. His mistake lay in supposing that constant pulverizing of the soil would suffice for the growth of plants set in rows, without manuring. Sir Humphry Davy (1778–1829) was the first to explain the close connection of chemistry with husbandry, and to instruct farmers as to the use of fertilizers.

Improvement in the breeding of cattle was not attempted until the middle of the century. In 1710. Davenant estimated the average net weight of the cattle sold in Smithfield at three hundred and seventy pounds. A century later it was eight hundred. The sheep were twenty-eight and eighty pounds respectively. Without a rotation of crops, stock could not be supported through the Winter, or adequately fattened at any time, except in low meadows and marshes, as in the Eastern Counties, which were also noted for their rich corn lands. Norfolk was still partly agricultural and partly manufacturing. It is described by Defoe as having "a face of diligence; the vast manufactures carried on by the Norwich weavers employ all the country round in spinning yarn for them; besides many thousands of packs of yarn which they receive from other countries. . . . Put it all together, the county has the most people in the least tract of land of any county in England, except about London, Exeter, and the West Riding." The Eastern Counties were also famed for poultry, "infinite numbers being carried to London every year." The fens of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire were the resort of innumerable wild-fowl; but the bittern and the heron are now scarce, and the vast meres and decoys, once swarming with aquatic birds, have been mostly swept away with the wide extension of drainage. The work begun by the Romans; continued by the skilful monks of the Middle Ages; resumed by spirited adventurers in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., until interrupted by the rapacity of Court harpies; again commenced during the Commonwealth, and which formed an especial object of legislation in 1697, has since steadily advanced. Many thousands of acres have been reclaimed, and are now rich and fertile; in the same way that large tracts in Holland have been created by the ingenuity and patient industry of its people, who are now occupied with the revived project of draining the Zuyder Zee, and converting it into solid land.

CHAPTER LXVII.

THE OLD DISSENT.

A.D. 1714–1724.

For half a century after the death of Queen Anne, the English throne, as in the case of the early Plantagenets, was occupied by aliens in speech, in lineage, and in manners. The first George had to hold blundering conversations in Latin with his Ministers, and the second spoke English so badly as to be almost unintelligible. Both were compelled to leave to their responsible advisers the conduct of public affairs ; for they could not preside at Cabinet deliberations as their predecessors had done. Happily, the custom has never been restored. Gladstone remarks,—"It is a curious but little observed fact in our history, that the office of First Minister only seems to have obtained regular recognition as the idea of personal government by the action of the king faded and became invisible" ('Gleanings,' i. 84). Advantage also accrued to the country from the Hanoverian sympathies and the Continental engagements of the first and second Georges ; for they were left to manage the affairs of their petty Principality while the foundations of home government by a Cabinet responsible to the House of Commons were being firmly laid. The control of the public purse was more strongly asserted. The office of Lord High Treasurer gave place to a Commission, and has never been revived. There was no personal sentiment of loyalty. The old feeling of blind homage towards the occupant of the throne had died out under the Stuarts. All that the country desired was a stable administration.

George I. (b. 1660, r. 1714–1727) was fifty-four years old at his accession. He could not adapt himself to foreign habits and to altered conditions so readily as he abjured his Lutheranism and declared himself a member of the Church of England, as a necessary qualification for the Crown. A stolid German, addicted to coarse feeding and heavy drinking, narrow and obstinate in his views, separated from his wife, who was a virtual

prisoner for thirty-three years, he lived in England as little as possible, the law being altered to enable him to go abroad. He was happiest in his native Hanover, or when philandering with his ugly German mistresses. One of them, from her great height and leanness, was irreverently named the Maypole; another was the Elephant, on account of her vast breadth. Horace Walpole, in his cynical manner, worthy of Sir Benjamin Backbite, described her as having two acres of cheeks, spread with crimson, and an ocean of neck. They and the German retinue that flocked over took all that they could get in the shape of sinecures, grants, patents, reversions, and pensions, and extorted gifts, bribes, and commissions from the holders and expectants of offices. Political and ecclesiastical jobbery and corruption were unblushingly practised. It was an age of lax professions and hollow formulas, of affected speech and mincing manners, typical of its character. Peculation and nepotism ran riot in every branch of the public service. Swift's 'Lilliput' is mainly a satire on the manners of the Court.

At the General Election of 1715, the Whigs obtained an overwhelming majority, and retained it for forty years. The Tories were discredited, because their leaders were identified with the Jacobite cause at the phantom Court of the Pretender, in St. Germains. They attempted to arouse the populace. Incipient riots occurred in some large towns, by the use of money, and by appeals to ignorance and prejudice. The King's orthodoxy was challenged. Insinuations were made that Puritan intolerance would be restored. It was said that England would be eaten up with Hanoverian rats and other vermin. Cries of "Church in danger!" and "Down with Dissenters!" were again raised, provoking scenes of outrage and violence, to suppress which the Riot Act was passed in June, 1715, treating rioters as felons, and compelling the Hundred to repair any damage. Among the Jacobite plotters was Marlborough, who, with customary perfidy, and piqued at the loss of his lucrative appointments, after having opened negotiations with the Court of Hanover, which failed to meet his terms, now secretly communicated with the Pretender. It was re-

solved to attempt a Jacobite rising among the wild Highland clans of Scotland, mere half-starved and half-savage cattle-stealers, whose only impulse was to follow their chiefs for the sake of bloodshed and robbery. It was also hoped that ancient jealousy of England, and prejudice against the recent Union of the two kingdoms, might be successfully invoked. The so-called Rebellion of 1715, which forms the theme of Walter Besant's novel of 'Dorothy Forster,' was not general, even in Scotland. The townsfolk and the Lowlanders held aloof, and the leaders miscalculated the extent of support in the Northern counties. The Highlanders, to the number of about eight thousand, marched as far as Preston, but were abandoned by most of their officers, and fifteen hundred had to surrender unconditionally. The gallows and the Plantations received their complement of victims. Temple Bar was, as usual, adorned with heads, and curious persons were accommodated with spy-glasses for a halfpenny, in order to examine them. The Pretender had landed at Peterhead, and took up his brief residence at Scone, but judged it expedient to withdraw to France, and resume as its pensioner his pasteboard and tinsel Court functions. After the excitement of this foolish escapade had subsided, the politics of the day became a monotonous war of newspaper abuse, varied by an occasional outburst of violence. The English Jacobites who had anything to lose, contented themselves with drinking to the success of the cause. They are ridiculed in the lines :—

> "God bless the King ! God bless our Faith's Defender !
> God bless—no harm in blessing—the Pretender !
> But who Pretender is, or who is King,
> God bless us all !—that's quite another thing."

The author of this quip was John Byrom (1691–1763), who also wrote the excellent apologue of 'The Three Black Crows.' His 'Journals,' published by the Chetham Society, furnish interesting particulars of his times. He also wrote some tedious theological poems ; and, with his morbid faculty of rhyming, versified the sentiments of William Law, the Mystic. He was the inventor of a system of shorthand in vogue for a time ; one out of

some two hundred systems or modifications that have been used in England during the last three centuries.

The Septennial Act was passed in 1716, because it was alleged that the occurrence of elections under the revived Triennial Act of 1694 occasioned much greater expense and more violent animosities than before. The Earl of Peterborough sarcastically remarked that he was at an utter loss to describe the nature of this prolongation of Parliament unless he borrowed a phrase from the Athanasian Creed, for it was "neither created nor begotten, but proceeding." The change had the unlooked-for effect of emancipating the Commons from dependence upon the Crown and the House of Lords. But it was a high-handed procedure on the part of men who, having been chosen for three years, appointed themselves for four more years. They might as well have voted their sitting perpetual. It was remarked upon at the time as being as violent a stretch of power as the creation of twelve new peers in the late reign for the purpose of carrying the Treaty of Utrecht. The precedent thus set was felt to be so dangerous that a Bill was brought in to place a restriction upon the power of making peers, by providing that the number should never be enlarged beyond two hundred and twenty-two. The Bill was defeated by a masterly speech from Walpole; one of the rare instances in which a decisive vote has thus been secured in the House of Commons. He was right in his line of argument. The Upper House would have become a close corporation, and its members a caste of political Brahmins. They would have acquired a dangerous preponderance of power in the State; being freed from the salutary check imposed by a threatened increase of their number, in order to secure the carrying of measures demanded by the country; while the Commons could always be influenced by the prospect of a dissolution, subject only to its restraint upon the Crown by a refusal of Supply. Such a disturbance of constitutional equipoise was prevented.

A practice had grown up during the time of the Tudors, and had been extended in subsequent reigns, of creating new offices, with extravagant salaries, for the sole object of securing through the incumbents the Parliamentary

influence of the Crown. Several attempts were made, but unsuccessfully, after the Revolution, to provide a remedy. When the Act of Settlement was under discussion, a clause was inserted, excluding all placemen from the House of Commons after the accession of the House of Hanover; but it was modified in 1705, on a debate upon a Regency Bill, and the acceptance of any office from the Crown, except a new or a higher commission in the naval or military service, was to disqualify for a seat. Owing to the exceptions, and to the number of ancient posts to which the measure did not apply, the first Parliaments of George I. and II. were half made up of servants or pensioners of the Crown. Some reduction was effected in 1743 by Walpole's Place Bill, but the evil continued, with slight modifications, throughout the century, in spite of such schemes as Burke's on Economical Reform. Not before 1833 was the number reduced to sixty.

What is known in ecclesiastical polemics as the Bangorian Controversy broke out in 1717. Hoadly (1676–1761), Bishop of Bangor, and then of Winchester, a dull, ponderous writer, extremely lax in his theology, issued a severe pamphlet against the Nonjurors. His ablest opponent was William Law (1686–1761), the devout Mystic and Nonjuror, author of a once popular work, 'The Serious Call,' eulogized by Johnson and Wesley. He acted for a time as tutor to Edward Gibbon, leaving in the family, on Gibbon's explicit testimony, the reputation of a worthy and pious man, who believed all that he professed, and practised all that he enjoined. He was greatly influenced by Jacob Boehme (1575–1624), known by eight variations of his name, but commonly described in English as Behmen, the German theosophist, and the precursor of Benedict de Spinoza, of Immanuel Kant, of Hegel, of Frederick Schelling, and of Boader. A man of mild, humble temper, working in patient obscurity as a shoemaker at Görlitz, he spent his life in grappling with the deepest problems that perplex humanity. His writings contain many bold suggestions which have profoundly influenced later philosophical systems. Notwithstanding his abstruse speculations and his peculiar terminology, his works excited much interest in Ger-

many, in Holland, and in England. Sir Isaac Newton studied them, and Law issued an English translation.

Hoadly also asserted, in a sermon preached before the Court, on 'The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ,' what were then viewed with alarm as the principles of religious liberty. Whether he perceived the logical conclusions from his premisses is doubtful. His sermon and pamphlet alike gave great offence to the High Church clergy and the Jacobites, who endeavoured in Convocation to obtain a synodical censure; alleging that the tendency of the sermon was to undermine the constitution of the Church, and to impugn the royal supremacy. A virulent paper war ensued. Seventy pamphlets on both sides appeared within a month. They have long since gone the way of all such heated controversies. The three huge folios of Hoadly's ponderous wranglings are styled by Leslie Stephen "a dreary wilderness of now profitless discussions. A vast debt of gratitude, however, is owing to the bores who have defended good causes; and, in his pachydermatous fashion, Hoadly did good service by helping to trample down certain relics of the old spirit of bigotry." Other distinguished writers took the side of freedom, like Warburton, the last of the great divines and theologians of that age; though Dr. Samuel Parr (1747–1825) had learning enough to maintain the succession, had he so chosen. The way was prepared for the famous dictum of Lord Mansfield (1705–1793), fifty years later, that Nonconformity is recognised and protected by the law, instead of being regarded as an offence and a crime. The Corporation of London, in a spirit of chicanery, that showed how it had fallen from its old patriotism and love of liberty, chose Dissenters for a long series of years for the office of Sheriff, knowing that they could not conscientiously serve because of the Test Acts. The accumulated fines levied on their refusal were applied to the building of the Mansion House, which stands as a perpetual monument of injustice and trickery. In 1754, three Nonconformists, Messrs. Sheafe, Streatfield, and Evans, were successively nominated. As they could not accept, and as they refused to pay the fines of two hundred pounds, legal proceedings were taken for enforcement. After thirteen years'

wearisome and costly litigation, the House of Lords, on final appeal, decided in their favour. Such a recognition of common citizen rights might have been secured long before. Nonconformists filled municipal offices in London and other large cities, by occasionally conforming to the Established Church, so as to escape civic and social ostracism. The City of London was largely Puritan and Presbyterian at the close of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. The halls of many of the Livery Companies were freely lent as places of meeting. Large sums were given, or left by bequest for the support of Dissenting worship, and for the relief of poor members. Much of the money, as is the case with endowments of every kind, has been squandered or misappropriated. Where it remains intact, the results are dubious, if not pernicious; for endowment of every kind, whether of religion, the arts, science, or the poor, is an opiate that lulls all exertion to sleep. Every attempt to crystallize creeds and to impose them upon posterity, by making their avowal a condition to the enjoyment of property, has signally failed.

Some members of the nobility and many wealthy merchants were munificent supporters of eminent Nonconformist ministers who flourished during the two generations that followed the Ejectment of 1662. Lord Mayors like Sir Humphrey Edwin, Sir John Hartopp, and Sir Thomas Abney, were intimate friends and generous adherents of men like Dr. Isaac Watts, who, in Johnson's opinion, was one of the first to teach Dissenters to write and speak like other men, by showing them that eloquence might consist with piety, and that pure religion need not be divorced from the best literature. They had gone, as usual, to the opposite extreme, in the rebound from the excessive formalism of the Established Church; and their modes of worship, formal enough of their kind, were bald and bare, cold and repellent. But anything that resembled a Liturgy was an abomination. The minister was the sole mouthpiece of the congregation, in prayer, in the reading of the Scriptures, and in preaching. The straiter sort had scruples about public singing. Where it was allowed, women were sometimes expected literally to obey the

Apostolic injunction, and keep silence; or it was arranged to sing only once, and that at the conclusion of the service, so that those who objected might withdraw. If vocal praise was permitted it was in the doggerel of Tate and Brady, of Francis Rous, or the version of the Psalms which Dr. John Patrick had rendered into limping metre. The sublime strains of the ancient and mediæval Church were lost or forgotten; and the rugged but stirring hymnody of Protestant Germany had not been translated into English. Not until the Muse of Watts struck the tuneful lyre was any worthy vehicle furnished for congregational praise. To use Pope's phrase, he "lisp'd in numbers, for the numbers came." His psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, though generally welcomed with delight and gratitude, occasionally provoked opposition and criticism like that ascribed to the eccentric genius, Thomas Bradbury. Unable to repress the desire of his people to join in public praise, he used to invite them "to sing one of Dr. Watts's whims." Yet they made their way, and long held a place of supremacy, until the advent of the feminine, gushing, super-sensuous jingle that has become so popular; expressing an impossible condition of ecstasy that finds no actual counterpart in daily life.

Although Watts wrote unequally, many of his compositions are unique and sublime, and are interwoven with the religious sentiment of the nation. His verse is often faulty in rhythm. He wrote far too much, and many of his productions are rhymed prose effusions, devoid of poetical afflatus. He lacked the musical ear and the delicate judgment of Addison; but his imagination was controlled by deep conviction and by profound reverence. He gave to the universal Church a collection of hymns which has been rivalled by no single pen since his day. With the dignity and gentleness of a truly great mind, he also wrote 'Divine and Moral Songs for Children,' and books couched in easy language for their instruction in useful knowledge. His limited acquaintance with elementary facts in natural history sometimes betrayed him into mistakes, and caused him to draw grotesque analogies and lessons; yet, after making every deduction and allowance, he stands alone. His 'Logic,' though

now superseded, was a text-book at Oxford. For years he was deservedly ranked next to Locke in mental philosophy, and was esteemed for his efficient services in defence of Revealed Religion. He was one of a group of distinguished divines and scholars who swayed great influence beyond the bounds of Nonconformity; like Dr. Daniel Williams, Dr. Edmund Calamy, Nathaniel Taylor—styled the Dissenting South—Matthew Henry, Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor, Philip Doddridge, Dr. John Gale, and many others. Without the aid of such eminent men, and of their numerous associates and followers, the Whigs would have been powerless in their long and severe contest with Tories and Jacobites. The Glorious Revolution and the peaceful accession of the House of Hanover would have been impossible. It was secured mainly by their loyalty and patriotism, as Charles James Fox testified in the House of Commons. Both in 1715 and in 1745 regiments were raised at the expense of wealthy Nonconformists, to oppose the Pretender. As this was, technically, levying war, the clumsy expedient had to be resorted to of passing an Act of Indemnity for their loyalty, at a time when hundreds of the clergy were Jacobites at heart.

If the Nonconformists failed to reap the benefits and to secure the political freedom to which they were entitled, they had themselves to thank for the perpetuation of their grievances. The iniquitous Test and Corporation Acts would have been swept away long before the year 1828, if they had possessed the courage of their convictions. They meekly waited a hundred and sixty years for the convenience of the Whigs. The High Church and Tory party would not have dared to propose the Occasional Conformity Bill and the Schism Bill, if they had asserted their civil rights. They could have exacted justice from the pinchbeck statesmen of the time of the Georges, who were perplexed and thwarted by the Nonjurors and Jacobites. But it was the mistaken policy of the leaders to advise moderation, and not to ask too much in the way of concessions. However such a policy may have been applauded by politicians who did not wish to have their party moves deranged, they did not hesitate to sacrifice Dissenters to their own ends; and

the timid policy largely contributed to the decline of the political manhood and of the spirituality of Dissent throughout the eighteenth century. The first Earl Stanhope (1673–1721), when Secretary of State, favoured toleration of all sects, including Romanists, and proposed to sweep away all distinctions and exclusions. His colleagues, and especially the Earl of Sunderland (1674–1722), thought "it would be difficult enough to repeal the Schism and the Occasional Conformity Acts, but any attack upon the Test Act would ruin all." Stanhope therefore submitted a modified measure, December 13, 1718, entitled, 'An Act for Strengthening the Protestant Interest,' with a view to allow Protestant Dissenters to undertake civil offices. After keen discussion, and the usual assertions that the restrictive Acts were "the main bulwarks and supporters of the Church," the measure was carried. During its progress, the Earl of Nottingham made his notorious assertion that "Dissenters were an obstinate set of people; never to be satisfied." The fact is that they might have gained more had they been less satisfied. Every slight mitigation of the penal laws from which they suffered was conceded as a sop thrown to Cerberus, and was accepted with humility and thankfulness.

Fitful efforts were made from time to time, often at long intervals, to secure a recognition of civic rights. Thus, in November, 1732, meetings were held in Silver-street Chapel, London, to consider the advisability of applying to the Legislature for a repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. This was the origin of the body known as the Dissenting Deputies of Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist churches within ten miles of the metropolis, for the purpose of watching over and guarding their common rights as citizens. Conferences were held with Cabinet Ministers and with members of Parliament, and the conclusion reached was that there was no prospect of success. Sir Robert Walpole would not interfere, unless compelled by circumstances. He professed to dislike the restrictive laws. He once declared the Schism Act to be worthy of Julian the Apostate. He admitted the obligations of the Crown and of the Government to the steadfast loyalty of Noncon-

formists. But he dreaded a revival of the old cry of "Church in danger." He never forgot the fury of ignorant fanaticism aroused by the Sacheverell trial; and he would not risk a repetition. This incident, described by Bolingbroke as the Whigs "having a parson to roast, and burning their hands in the fire," gave Walpole an invincible repugnance to touch Church questions. He had flung a bribe of a few hundred pounds in 1723, to keep the Dissenters quiet. It was continued year by year under the name of the *Regium Donum*; ostensibly as a matter of benevolence towards the widows of their ministers, but really to purchase silence and submission; and the ignominious compact was continued until 1851. When he was urged to consent to a repeal of the obnoxious Statutes, after the whole strength of the Nonconformists had been exerted on behalf of his party at the General Election of 1734, he gave an abrupt and positive refusal, saying, as Ministers usually answer all reformers, that the season was inopportune. Being told that such an answer had been given for a long time, and asked when the convenient opportunity would arrive, he replied, - "If you require a specific answer, I will give it you in a word—Never!" He resisted a proposal made in the House by a friendly member, and it was rejected with contumely. All that he would do, when the High Court party permitted, was to connive at a lax enforcement of the laws against Dissenters.

Forty-five years afterwards, in 1779, a slight measure of relief was conceded, after repeated attempts and ignominious failures. Leave was then granted to substitute a general declaration of being Christians and Protestants, and of belief in the Holy Scriptures, for subscription to the doctrinal articles, as required by the Toleration Act from all Dissenting ministers, tutors, and schoolmasters. The result might have been greater but for the action of certain Scotch ministers resident in London, who, from ecclesiastical prejudices, favoured a rigid subscription after their own pattern; and but for the intolerance and jealousy of Dissenters towards one another. At the same time, the Irish Parliament gave similar relief to Protestant Nonconformists in that country. Once more,

in 1787, and again in 1789, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was proposed in the Commons, but was rejected. In the latter year, the third Earl Stanhope (1753–1816), true to his family traditions, brought into the House of Lords a Bill for the repeal of a number of ancient and obsolete laws that infringed upon religious liberty, excepting, however, the Test and Corporation Acts. He recited numerous enactments that had fallen into desuetude; such as those imposing fines, ranging from twelve pence to twenty pounds, for each occasion of neglect or refusal to go to church on Sundays and saints' days, with imprisonment until payment and compliance, and banishment and confiscation of goods for contumacy. It was still illegal to eat meat on fast days, and offenders were liable to costly and vexatious procedure in the ecclesiastical courts. Other legislative cannon were mentioned, which, though not loaded, still disfigured the Statute Book, and might be used to gratify the malice or the greed of informers. The Bill was designed to destroy these ancient and rusty weapons of intolerance; but it was defeated in the House of Lords, mainly by the bishops. They could not defend them, but urged the inexpediency of their sudden removal, because then no established religion would be left. The episcopal bench has never been noted for the strength of its logic, or for exuberant Christian charity. The defunct and worse than useless laws were not repealed until 1844 and 1846.

In the course of the debate, Earl Stanhope uttered the significant warning which, derided at the time, showed a remarkable degree of prescience and a profound knowledge of human nature; that the time was when toleration was humbly accepted as a boon; then it was demanded as a right; but a day would come when it would be spurned as an insult. For the last time, in 1790, a motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was submitted, under the charge of the great Whig leader, Fox. He was opposed by Pitt, and, strange to say, by Wilberforce and Burke. The motion was lost by nearly three to one, in the panic aroused by the French Revolution; and the matter again slept for thirty-eight years. If, instead of confining themselves to the

redress of minuter grievances, and waiting in the ante-chambers of time-serving politicians as needy suppliants for bare permission to exist, Nonconformists had struggled with persistency and determination for their just rights, no power in England could have withheld them. But they were halting, timid, irresolute; humble hangers-on of the great Whig official party, the cardinal article of whose creed was that England and all its good things existed for the Whigs; and they were divided in opinions and in counsels. They failed to perceive that their Dissent was either a solemn duty or an awful crime. They only sought for present relief, and they were careful not to embarrass party moves on the political chessboard. Hence, however they are to be commiserated for their prolonged ostracism, they are also blamable for having submitted.

It was, perhaps, inevitable that a removal of some of the theological and social restrictions of two centuries should be followed by a corresponding reaction, and that there was some tendency towards Latitudinarianism. It had largely appeared, by the third decade of the eighteenth century, alike within the Established Church and among the Protestant communities beyond its pale. None of the existing legal tests were found sufficient to protect the former; nor were voluntary creeds and mutual arrangements effectual to preserve what was regarded as the orthodoxy of the latter. Clergymen who had subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles, who used the same Liturgy, who were bound by the Act of Uniformity, and who repeated the Athanasian Creed, hesitated not to avow disbelief in the doctrine of the Trinity and in other cardinal points of the prescribed theology. Among Nonconformists, also, not a few of the ministerial descendants of the old Presbyterians drifted away from the Calvinism of their predecessors, and became Arians, after a series of keen doctrinal disputes. Chief among these was the outbreak at Exeter, in 1719, of what was known as the Trinitarian controversy, which soon spread to the metropolis, and split up many of the Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist churches. It was no more possible for them to impose unalterable dogmas upon their historic descendants, for all future time, by means of trust-deeds

with rigid schedules of doctrine, than it was to secure undeviating belief and practice in the Established Church by successive Acts of Uniformity.

The new generation of Presbyterians still scrupled about conforming, but lived in the vain hope of concessions that would enable them to do so; a dream that has not wholly vanished after the lapse of nearly two centuries. They are not to be always definitely marked off on grounds of doctrine from the Independents and the Baptists. Each body has had at times representatives of Calvinists, Arminians, Arians, and Socinians —to use objectionable terms—exactly as has been the case within the Church of England. It was a common phrase that Arminianism was a shoe-horn to draw on Socinianism. The latter misleading word was often applied to such as did not agree with the doctrine of Faustus Socinus (1539–1604), who propagated views first broached by his uncle, Lælius. Such epithets were tossed about as terms of reproach, as Puseyism, Rationalism, and Neology have been in recent times. The Presbyterians continued to decline throughout the century; partly from social and partly from doctrinal causes. The more liberal spirit of the Episcopal Church rendered a return more easy; and escape was thereby found from the inconvenience and losses entailed by such measures as the Test and Corporation Acts. Moreover, like the Puritans before them, and like the Wesleyan Methodists a little later, and like those who formed the Free Church of Scotland in 1843, they were not avowed Separatists, but preferred a legalized spiritual community. Dr. Edmund Calamy the younger (1671–1732), in his 'Life and Times,' gives a list of twenty-five ministers and students of the body who had conformed during the second decade, including the future Bishop Butler, and Secker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Others, who held strong doctrinal views of an Evangelical type, if they could not conform, joined the Independents, while many more became Arian, and, ultimately, Unitarian. English Presbyterianism of the original order was absolutely extinct, though the name was retained for some time, because of the fabrics and their endowments. Richard Price (1723–1791) and Joseph Priestley

(1733–1804) are the two representative men among the Unitarians, when that body was definitely marked in the second half of the century. A similar change took place in New England, especially in and around Boston, where most of the Congregational churches became Unitarian.

With an opposite theological trend, many of the Independents and Baptists, and a few of the Episcopal clergy likewise, carried the dogmas of the great theologian of Geneva to the absurd and immoral extent known by the ugly name of Antinomianism. One of the most prominent was an eccentric, self-conscious, and self-seeking rough genius, originally a shoemaker, who paraded himself as William Huntington, S. S. ("Sinner Saved"), and left numerous narrow-minded and complacent adherents on his death in 1813. The Baptists were still split up into the two camps of Particular and General, from opposing views on the nature of the Atonement, as to whether it was specific and limited, or universal. Some Particular Baptists declined to accept extreme or ultra-Calvinism; and most of the General Baptists became Unitarian in doctrine. Three eminent types of the respective schools were Andrew Fuller (1754-1815), Dr. John Gill (1697-1771), and Robert Robinson of Cambridge (1735-1790). It is said that Nonconformist quarrels are characterized by peculiar acerbity. Probably they are not more so than is the case with theological gladiators of every creed and in every age. It would have been well, both for Episcopalians and others, as Baxter once said, if the devil had never put on his gown, stepped into the infallible chair, and, in a fit of reverend zeal, taken upon him to preserve and perfect the faith of the Church. Time was wasted in useless logomachy, and bad temper was aroused without any useful result. Dr. Edmund Calamy, one of the ablest and most estimable apologists for Protestant Nonconformity, writing in 1730, said that while there were sensible advances in some places in Dissenting circles, a real decay of serious religion, both in the Church and out of it, was very visible. Watts bore similar testimony about the same time from his valetudinary retirement at Abney Park, Stoke Newington.

The amiable and devout, but complacent and optimistic Dr. Philip Doddridge (1702–1751), author of some popular hymns, of a 'Family Expositor,' and of 'The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul,' writing from his Northampton Academy, which took the highest rank among similar institutions, on the most probable means of reviving the Dissenting interest, recommended its ministers to become all things to all men, and try to please everybody. Dr. John Guyse (1680–1761), a learned Independent divine, expressed an opinion that "the religion of Nature made up the darling topic of the age." Mosheim, the ecclesiastical historian, wrote in 1740,—"Those who are best acquainted with the state of the English nation tell us that the Dissenting interest declines from day to day." Dr. John Stoughton, who has the reputation of being a moderate and mild Dissenter, admits, as the result of a careful survey of the state of religion during the reign of Anne and of the first George, that, "with certain exceptions . . . a spirit of indifference respecting the masses of the people infected the respectable congregations gathered within the walls of Protestant meeting-houses." In them, as in the churches, religion became little more than a tradition and a formality. Angry disputes were carried on over the public use of the Lord's Prayer; over "dumb reading" of the Scriptures, that is, without a running comment of more or less attenuated exposition; over such frivolous points as whether sitting or standing was the proper attitude in prayer—kneeling was out of the question, as savouring of Popery—or whether hymns should be used. For a lengthened period, what is now universally regarded as the decorous observance of public worship was deemed a badge of fanaticism, and was branded with opprobrious names. "Be not righteous overmuch" was literally construed. A general torpor and coldness spread over all the religious communities of the land, until Whitefield and the Wesleys appeared to arouse it with their energy and devotion. A full and just account of Nonconformity from 1688 to 1891 is given in the 'History of the Free Churches of England,' by Herbert S. Skeats and Charles S. Miall.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

RELIGIOUS TORPOR.

A.D. 1720–1760.

Ecclesiastical matters remained through the greater part of the eighteenth century in the state described in the last Chapter. It was a time, as Macaulay says, when poetry sank into dull prose; when philosophy rarely soared above the material, or the purely logical; when the only earnestness existing took the direction of greed or of self-indulgence; when the public service was corrupt, when public morals were licentious, and when common language was profane. Religion was no exception to the prevalent degeneracy. Never was there an age of more vehemence and less zeal; of more demonstration of revelation and less faith; of more controversy and less charity. The deistical school of writers made their appearance, and the ethical school of divines laboriously trifled in answering them. The former are traceable from Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1581–1648), whom Robert Hall designated "the first and purest of our English Freethinkers," through a succession of writers like Hobbes of Malmesbury and Charles Blount (1654–1693), who aimed at establishing what they called Natural Religion upon the basis of reason and free inquiry, and bringing positive or Revealed Religion to the test of this. Among the leading names, most of them men of great intellectual attainments and of high personal character, are Matthew Tindal (1657–1733), who described himself as a Christian Deist, author of an extraordinary book, 'Christianity as Old as the Creation,' which evoked no fewer than one hundred and fifteen replies; John Toland (1669–1722), scarcely a Deist, but the solitary English Pantheist, who wrote 'Christianity not Mysterious'; the eccentric, if not mad clergyman, Thomas Woolston (1669–1733); Bernard Mandeville, of 'The Fable of the Bees' (1670–1733); Anthony Collins (1676–1729); the third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713), of the 'Characteristics'; Conyers Middleton (1683–1753); and, most prominently, Lord Bolingbroke (1678–1751).

In Shaftesbury's famous book, if there lay any meaning, it was one, according to Carlyle, "of such long-windedness, circumlocution, and lubricity, that, like an eel, it must for ever slip through our fingers, and leave us alone among the gravel." To the trancendent abilities of Bolingbroke all his contemporaries bear witness. His speeches are said to have been extraordinary in their construction, delivery, and effect; but not a vestige of them remains, any more than of Cicero's translation of Demosthenes. Bolingbroke's rhetorical gifts were vitiated by his manifest lack of sincerity. When his posthumous works were published in 1754, Dr. Johnson, according to Boswell, gave one of his characteristic judgments:—"Sir, he was a scoundrel and a coward; a scoundrel, for charging a blunderbuss against religion and morality; a coward, because he had no resolution to fire it off himself, but left half-a-crown to a beggarly Scotchman to draw the trigger after his death." Though a Theist, after a fashion, he had not emotional depth or logical coherence enough to be Pantheistic. His works, some of which, it must be admitted, were distinguished for feebleness of thought and beauty of diction, and for a superficial and flippant philosophy clothed in all the harmony and graces of language that ran into a quagmire of rhetorical diffuseness, continued popular for a lengthened period after his death. They are said to have been the chief models on which Burke founded his style; probably because of his ironical imitation in his earliest work; but he calls him "a presumptuous and superficial writer, whom no one reads through."

The only contemporary view of this class of writers is given in a dull and dreary book by John Leland (1691–1766), which, with the 'Short and Easy Method' of Charles Leslie (1650–1722), were, for a long period, supposed to be conclusive refutations, until later and abler assailants of Christianity demanded a different order of apologists. The chief exceptions, prior to Paley's advent, were Thomas Sherlock (1678–1761), Bishop of Bangor, and then of Salisbury and of London, with his 'Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection'; Dr. Nathaniel Lardner (1684–1768), whose exhaustive 'Credibility of the Gospel

History' occupied thirty years of a laborious life, and who also defended the Miracles from Woolston's attack; Dr. Zachary Pearce (1690–1774), Bishop of Rochester; Dr. Daniel Waterland (1683–1740); Dr. James Foster (1697–1753), an Addison in the pulpit; Dr. William Harris, one of the most accomplished scholars and one of the greatest masters of the English language of his time; Dr. Isaac Watts; William Law, the Mystic, whose assaults upon Mandeville and Tindal were forcible and skilful; and, finally, Joseph Butler (1692–1752), the Prince-Bishop of Durham, whose 'Sermons,' and the 'Analogy,' place him among the most original and candid of philosophical theologians. Though often eulogized, like Shakspere, Milton, Addison, and other classics, he is seldom read, amidst the daily debauch of modern newspapers and other ephemeral literature. In the average writers of that time there is much elaborate argument and speculation concerning the Divine existence and perfections, and concerning the nature and obligations of virtue in the abstract, and much that was designed to show the reasonableness of morality; but the essence of Christianity, and the practical effects which it should produce, were strangely overlooked. Dr. Johnson remarked of the apologetic style of preaching then in vogue, that the Apostles were tried regularly once a week on the charge of committing forgery. To whatever causes the decline of Deism after 1750 is to be assigned, the books polemically written against it cannot be included. The more these demonstrated, the less did people believe. The real causes of the decline were twofold: the inherent weakness and coldness of Deism; and the diversion of the public mind into active politics by the American War of Independence and by the outburst of the French Revolution. Burke, writing in 1790, said that these authors, who made some noise in their day, then reposed in lasting oblivion; and that no one, "born within the last forty years, has read one word of that whole race who called themselves Freethinkers."

As was stated in the last Chapter, few clergymen seemed to believe in or to care for the doctrinal Articles of the Established Church, in spite of stringent verbal subscription. The disastrous effects of Acts of Uni-

formity were manifest. The High Church party, using the phrase in its historic sense, restricted their devotion by the formal ritual of the Prayer Book. Low Churchmen were more than suspected of having gone far beyond Arminianism towards Arianism or Pelagianism. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in a letter of 1723, tells a current joke that certain statesmen were then engaged in preparing a Bill for excising the word "not" from the Decalogue, and inserting it in the Creed. Butler remarks, in the Preface to the 'Analogy,' that it had "come to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now, at length, discovered to be fictitious." He declared, in his Charge of 1751:—"The deplorable distinction of our age is an avowed scorn of religion in some, and a growing disregard of it in the generality." Secker, Bishop of Oxford, afterwards Primate, said in 1738, in one of his Charges,—"An open and profound disregard to religion is becoming the distinguishing characteristic of the present age." Gibson (1669–1748), Bishop of London, Berkeley (1684–1753), Bishop of Cloyne, and numerous other clerical dignitaries, attest the same thing. It confirms Burnet's remark at the commencement of the century, that of all whom he ever knew, the English clergy of his day were the most remiss of any in their labours among the people; adding, "I must own that the main body of our clergy have always appeared dead and lifeless to me; and, instead of animating, they appear to send one another to sleep." The Established Church was fast settling down to the torpor and dulness which, with a few honourable exceptions, characterized it during the greater part of the century. There was light, but no life; great debating about religion, but little or no religion itself; pulpit and press controversies in abundance, but the battle was chiefly between a petrified orthodoxy and a cold rationalism. Pope remarks, in his 'Essay on Criticism':—

> "Then unbelieving priests reformed the nation,
> And taught more pleasant methods of salvation;
> Where Heaven's free subjects might their rights dispute,
> Lest God Himself should seem too absolute."

Warburton (1698–1779), Bishop of Gloucester, attained his mitre in 1760; the climax of preferments that rewarded his literary and controversial writings. The greatest is 'The Divine Legation of Moses'; designed to prove that the Pentateuch must be a Divine revelation because it is silent on the subject of a future state of rewards and punishments. As this doctrine must be regarded as the chief bond of human society, its alleged omission from the Mosaic economy proves, according to Warburton, that it came from Heaven, and must have been maintained by a Divine or a miraculous influence. Only a bold and daring mind could have seized on such a position; but he sustains it by copious and plausible arguments, and the involutions and intricacies of the chain hide its weaknesses. Apart from its theological purpose, his book contains marvellous excursions over the wide fields of philosophy and of literature. Critics were not lacking who said that his apology and arguments were more damaging to the cause of orthodoxy than Swift's burlesque of 'The Tale of a Tub.' Learned, after a fashion of his own; following Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy' in multifarious citations which bewilder and astonish, if they do not convince; positive and dogmatic to the last degree; and original and vigorous in style, Warburton displayed the worst forms of the polemical temper, in his truculent abuse of adversaries. Bishop Lowth (1710–1787), of London, with whom he became involved in one of his endless literary disputes, ironically suggested that he brought to them the habits of mind acquired in an attorney's office, in which he had begun life. He was impelled to enter the lists against Bolingbroke, Conyers Middleton, David Hume, and writers of that school; and his swashbuckler style sometimes inflicted as much damage on friends as foes. All who differed from him were treated as fools or liars, deserving only to be cudgelled. Never was episcopal crozier wielded with such energy. He pursued his ponderous way, like an elephant crushing through a jungle. He had no sense of the value of words. Everything was magnified or denounced in the superlative degree. Bentley characterized him as a man of monstrous appetite and bad digestion. Unfortunately, the

style was that of the age. Theological literature was a Babel of loud vociferation, vulgar contradiction, and imputation of bad motives. Accurate knowledge and the judicial faculty of weighing evidence had vanished, and a voluble opinionativeness filled the world of books.

In his famous but thoroughly Erastian treatise on 'The Alliance between Church and State,' first published in 1736, Warburton abandoned the argument from antiquity and from essential truth, and laid down the proposition that the Church and the State, as two separate and independent powers, having united for purposes of convenience and utility, the State must consider religion in reference to expediency, and not to revelation; and that it should favour any particular creed, not in proportion to its truth, but because it was the strongest, and solely with a view to its general utility. This was only another mode of stating what Gibbon reduced into his well-known aphorism, about the systems of religion which prevailed in the Roman world being respectively regarded as equally false, equally true, and equally useful. Warburton's book, one of the most masterly statements of the subject from his point of view, aroused great scandal and provoked keen controversy; but its influence was abiding. He was the first prominent writer to separate theology from politics; just as Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough (d. 1718), was the first to separate it from morals. Cumberland's views, as Buckle shows, were pushed to their farthest extent by Hume, with his more comprehensive mind, and were shortly afterwards applied to practical conduct by Paley. His 'Moral and Political Philosophy,' published in 1785, became a standard book at Cambridge in the following year, and passed through fifteen editions within two decades. Jeremy Bentham and James Mill still further applied Cumberland's teachings to speculative jurisprudence, as Burke applied Warburton's theory to politics.

Another kind of influence was exerted by Berkeley, who published a treatise concerning the principles of human knowledge, with a view to undermine the Materialism of Hobbes and his followers, by denying, on received principles of philosophy, the reality of an external world. If this be so, then he argued that the

phenomena of sense can be explained only by supposing a Deity continually necessitating perception. His system of revived Nominalism has been ridiculed as an idle dream by those who failed to perceive the character and the drift of much of the so-called philosophy of his day, which was nothing else than a dreary labyrinth of metaphysical puzzles ; but it is a monument of marvellous subtlety of mind and of pious devotion of intellectual powers to the cause of religion. He was the first to propound a scheme of absolute Idealism. His principal doctrine has been styled "the touchstone of metaphysical sagacity." In following out a laudable purpose, he unconsciously prepared the way for a subtler form of scepticism, in Hume's philosophy, than the world had previously known. The peculiar nature of the subjects which Berkeley treated has caused him to be misunderstood, notwithstanding the clearness of his style and the vigour of his thinking. Byron ridiculed him in 'Don Juan.' Even Dr. Johnson, who was usually quick to perceive verbal distinctions, said that he refuted Berkeley's theory by stamping with his foot on the ground, imagining that the Bishop denied the existence of the perception of solidity, which was not the case. Many of his maxims and suggestions on economic subjects anticipated the theories of Hume and of Adam Smith. Pope ascribed to him every virtue under heaven. In middle life, when enjoying leisure and opulence as Dean of Derry, he dreamed that a new Golden Age might be witnessed across the Atlantic, with the supposed Westward course of Empire ; and that a fifth act, the noblest of all, might close the drama of Time. He proposed to found a college in the Bermudas, for educating the children of planters in America, and for training native teachers and missionaries to labour among its aborigines. He obtained a Royal Charter, relinquished his deanery, and induced learned persons to join him. Delays and obstacles arose. Promised financial aid by the Government was not forthcoming. But he settled in Newport, Rhode Island ; writing, planning, working, and hoping for the realization of his scheme, into which he put all his large private fortune. It had to be abandoned after three years ; and he returned home in 1734, to be appointed to the See

of Cloyne, through the influence of Queen Caroline, wife of George II. By her recommendation, also, Butler was given the See of Bristol, which he filled for twelve years before his translation in 1750 to Durham. To her enlightened patronage the Churches of England and Ireland owe the two most distinguished bishops of the century. Berkeley's farm at Newport was given to found a scholarship in Yale College, and he presented to its library and to that of Harvard large collections of books. Yale also treasures his portrait; and his name is associated by his admirers with the more recent University in California.

The great Evangelical or Low Church Movement within the Church of England, towards the close of the eighteenth century, is commonly identified with the name of what was called the Clapham Sect, described by Sir James Stephen and Mrs. Oliphant. It was a simple revival of religion, not a development of theological opinions. The stand taken was on the doctrinal teachings of the Reformation. The Thirty-nine Articles were accepted in their natural and grammatical sense. It was a revolt against the formalism, the lack of fervour, and the scepticism that had so long prevailed. Its very intensity made it imperfect and one-sided; and led to undue stress being laid upon certain truths, to the neglect of co-ordinate or correlative truths. By a natural swing of the pendulum, this helped to produce the revulsion of the Oxford Movement, fifty years later. Some of the clerical leaders of the Evangelical section were in sympathy with the Methodists, though not identical with them in views or practice; but others were quite independent of the influence. William Romaine said that when he began his ministry there were not more than six or seven Evangelical clergymen; but before his death, in 1795, he could enumerate five hundred. By that time, the party had become a power. Its patron among the bishops was Beilby Porteous, of London (1731-1808); and its great apostle was Charles Simeon (1759–1836), whose spirit still survives in the trustees who administer the presentation to a number of livings, acquired by the munificence of his friends and admirers. Its earnest laity were represented in literature

by Hannah More (1745–1833), and by William Wilberforce (1759–1833) in his 'Practical View,' once so popular.

No surprise will be felt at the condition of the Church during the greater part of the century, when it is remembered that the social status of many of the clergy continued to be inferior to that of the yeomen and farmers. Parochial incomes widely fluctuated, but five thousand benefices were under eighty pounds in yearly value, so that, allowing for the difference in the value of money, the state of things was worse than that described by John Speed in 1623. Readers attached to metropolitan churches were generally paid one-fourth of that sum, and chaplains in private families had about thirty pounds, with board and lodging, and filled an intermediate position between guests and servants. The prizes in the Church were reserved for the favourites of fortune, for dependents upon the Court, for younger sons of the nobility, sometimes for literary service, but chiefly for political and social rewards. Pluralities abounded. To them that had, more was given. A bishopric was usually held with a deanery, a canonry, a prebendal stall, or a rich living, and sometimes with more than one such office. The deanery of Westminster, worth seven thousand a year, always went with the bishopric of Rochester. One of the humblest of the Deists, Thomas Chubb, the tallow-chandler (1679–1747), applied a strong personal argument to Dr. Henry Stebbing, one of Hoadly's opponents, by reminding him of the worldly advantages derived from the possession of not fewer than five rich pluralities. The biographies of Bishop Gibson ; of Cornwallis, Bishop of Lichfield, and then Primate ; of Archdeacon Paley ; of Newton, Bishop of Bristol ; of Brownlow North, Bishop of Winchester ; of Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, and many other dignitaries, furnish instances of abounding sinecurism and plurality, of exorbitant payment and neglected work. Dr. Johnson lamented that few clergymen were promoted for learning and piety, their only chance depending upon family or political interest. Chesterfield spoke of them as, "with the most indefatigable industry and insatiable greediness, darkening in clouds the levées of

kings and ministers." Looking to such sources for promotion, when it came, they bestowed their own patronage with shameless nepotism upon members of their families, who were often non-resident and pluralists. Pope might "goad the prelate, slumbering in his stall," sufficiently to produce irritation ; but the slumber was not interrupted for many moments.

When episcopal duties were neglected, or discharged perfunctorily, it is not strange that many of the clergy were indolent and irregular. Public catechizing in Church, and the visitation of the sick, were neglected. Divine service was held once a week, or once a month, in many rural parishes, and was hurried through in an irreverent and slovenly manner. The flimsiest excuse sufficed to omit or curtail the performance. Church fabrics were allowed to fall into decay, or were abandoned to dust, damp, and insects, or were receptacles for lumber and rubbish. High, square pews, exceptional heretofore, were constructed and surrounded with curtains ; the chief use being to insulate each family within a separate enclosure, or as Swift said, for the purpose of "lodging folks disposed to sleep." Wooden galleries disfigured the sacred edifices, and on the walls were unsightly monuments in which Death's heads and cross-bones, shields and escutcheons, medallion busts and life-size figures, mingled with Pagan emblems and pseudo-classical allegories, and fulsome and false eulogies in bad Latin. A tall structure, known as a three-decker pulpit, accommodated the clerk, the reader, and the preacher, one above another ; the whole being surmounted by a huge sounding-board. The surplice, often, as Cowper said, "as dirty as a farmer's frock," was exchanged for the Genevan gown for preaching. He appealed to the bishops not to "lay careless hands on skulls that cannot teach and will not learn," and he commented on "the divorce of the knees from the hassock," the custom being to sit during the Psalms and the singing by the charity children of the doggerel by Sternhold and Hopkins, or by Tate and Brady ; and to stand during the prayers, the responses being vicariously rendered by a droning clerk, whose miscellaneous functions are humorously described by Pope.

In more pretentious places, the monotonous duet between the parson and the clerk, or the melancholy solo of the latter, was varied by the noisy and discordant performance of a motley choir, aided by the fiddle, fife, bassoon, and other instruments, the congregation turning round and facing the loft or gallery whence proceeded this marvellous ebullition of stertorous sounds. Baptism, marriage, the churching of women, and the burial of the dead were got through with the utmost possible speed, the fees being the chief consideration. The Communion was celebrated, as a rule, only at the three great festivals of the Church. The plainest directions of the Rubric were disregarded. An offertory was almost unknown. Sunday Schools were rarely found. Confirmations were held triennially, after perfunctory preparation of the catechumens, or, sometimes, septennially. The neglected state of many of the fabrics is shown by Hogarth, in his satire of the poor-box covered with cobwebs, the Commandments cracked and broken, and the Creed obliterated by damp. He also depicts a too common circumstance in the Sleeping Congregation, in which the prosy clergyman can almost be heard, answering to the satirical description in Pope's 'Dunciad.' The hour-glass shown in Hogarth's picture was a relic of times when it was not uncommon to listen to discourses of that length; and when, occasionally, the glass was turned to enable a verbose preacher to complete his sermon. Samuel Butler satirizes, in 'Hudibras,' "gifted brethren preaching by the carnal hour-glass." Frequent entries occur in parochial accounts of the purchase of these time-registers, and of the iron brackets on which they stood. A fine specimen is preserved in the Church of St. Alban's, Wood-street, London. Among ancient doles, money was left to pay beadles and sextons for awakening sluggards, and for whipping dogs out of churches.

Preaching was a lost art, with rare exceptions, both in churches and chapels. Cowper depicts, in 'The Timepiece,' the state of the pulpit; many of the occupants of which indulged in "attitude, and stare, and start theatric," as "odious as the nasal twang heard at conventicles." There were no successors to Jeremy Taylor's

brilliant flashes of fancy ; to Bernard Gilpin's apostolic zeal ; to Latimer's colloquial and forcible appeals ; to Richard Baxter's intense earnestness ; to Stephen Charnock's sublime conceptions ; to Thomas Goodwin's massive thought ; to John Howe's seraphic fervour ; to Isaac Barrow's masculine reasoning ; to Richard Sibbes' pregnant quaintness ; or to Robert South's wit and wisdom. Hume lauded the Church as tending to keep down fanaticism, and therefore commendable for its indifference to zeal. For a man to be suspected of enthusiasm sufficed to condemn him socially. The brief, dry, frigid, moral essays, typified by the rhetorical inanity of Hugh Blair (1718–1800), or "the divinity of other days ground down to modern use," and often obtained for a small consideration, to be mumbled or gabbled from the pulpit, were not calculated or intended to move the hearers. Judging by copious printed specimens of dreary dulness and grotesque ignorance, in thousands of sermons entombed in such receptacles of pulpit morphia as the British Museum Library, or that in Sion College, or that of Dr. Daniel Williams, nothing was lost by their being inarticulate, or by non-delivery.

Atterbury (1662–1732), Bishop of Rochester ; Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), author of 'The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity,' upholding the Arian view, and of numerous metaphysical and philosophical works, who might have been a prelate but for his lax opinions ; and Sherlock (1678–1761), Bishop of London, represent respectively the High and Low Church preachers and the judicious mean between the two. It is not surprising, therefore, to use Leslie Stephen's phrase, that "the scepticism widely diffused through the upper classes was of the indolent variety, implying a perfect willingness that churches should survive, though faith might perish." There were, it must be repeated, honourable exceptions, but they were conspicuous by rarity, like some already mentioned, or like Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, or William Jones of Nayland, Gilbert White of Selbourne, Thomas Twining of Colchester, William Grimshaw of Haworth, and the friends and associates of the Wesleys. Clerical portraits drawn by essayists, novelists, poets, diarists, letter-writers, and dramatists are not mere ex-

aggerated caricatures. Fielding's Mr. Supple and his Parson Trulliber were too representative, while his Parson Adams was exceptional, like Goldsmith's Dr. Primrose. Smollett's Mr. Shuffle was a dexterous cheat in canonicals, who held his own among the tipplers and gamblers of the village inn. Goldsmith's description of a visitation dinner; Colman's Rev. Jack Quickset; with the real characters of Dr. Warner, George Selwyn's friend, of Laurence Sterne, and of Charles Churchill, the associate of Wilkes, are undoubted types of a numerous class. Dr. Vicesimus Knox (1752-1821) declares in one of his 'Essays' that the public had "long remarked with indignation that some of the most distinguished coxcombs, drunkards, debauchees, and gamesters, who figure at the watering-places and all public places of resort, were young men of the sacerdotal order." Some of Cowper's delineations of the priestly character are painful and shocking. His friend, John Newton (1725-1807), says that his own examination prior to ordination lasted only an hour, and that was all he saw of his diocesan before being instituted to Olney.

To meet this appalling condition of things, a different kind of agency was needed. In the closing decades of the seventeenth century, numerous Societies for the Reformation of Manners had been formed in London and in large provincial towns. The members assembled periodically for devotional exercises and conference, and for mutual vigilance and control. They relieved the poor; sent their children to school; released imprisoned debtors; and supported lectureships in churches. They endeavoured to repress and punish vice, with a zeal that frequently outran discretion, and exposed them to a charge of acting in the spirit of the Three Tailors of Tooley-street. Their motive was good, but their methods were mistaken. It is unwise and dangerous for private individuals to constitute themselves censors of public morals, other than by personal influence and example; or by a system of amateur espionage, and of common informers plying for hire, to bring penal coercion to bear upon all whom they deem guilty of profaneness, gambling, drunkenness, and immorality. But it was among the adherents of the Societies that a revival was initiated

which is in many respects the most interesting phenomenon of the eighteenth century. Charity Schools, as they were termed, from the gratuitous instruction in the mere rudiments of learning, and from the hideous dress worn by the boys and girls as part of the bounty, began to be formed at the close of the seventeenth century Archbishop Tenison is said to have established the first of them, during his rectorship of St. Martin's-in-the-fields; and there were a hundred and seventeen schools of the kind in London in 1712, besides those found in country towns. The instruction was exceedingly meagre, but there was a diligent inculcation of the Catechism, and constant attendance at church. It was the great era of school foundation or improvement in the North of Germany. Augustus Hermann Francke commenced his great educational work at Halle, in Saxony, in 1694; and the Jesuits were everywhere zealous in their endeavours to gain an influence over the young. To counteract them, if not in emulation of Francke, Charity Schools were begun in England. Their educational force may be appraised from the conditions set forth in the seventy-third and seventy-ninth Chapters. Nor were the well-meant endeavours of Dr. Thomas Bray, rector of St. Botolph, Aldgate, to establish parochial libraries, more successful in their abiding results. It has been already stated that there were more than five thousand livings under eighty pounds in annual value. Of these, two thousand were less than thirty pounds; and the clerical occupants were in danger of both physical and mental starvation. To relieve the latter, he proposed to furnish commentaries, treatises on practical divinity, and other books, to assist them in preaching or catechizing. He gave and collected large sums; and before his death, in 1730, he established libraries in sixty-seven parishes, and eighty-three circulating libraries, both being for the use of the clergy.

The great religious movement with which the names of John Wesley (1703–1791), of his brother Charles (1708–1788), and of George Whitefield (1714–1770), are so honourably associated, commenced about the year 1729, while they were students at Oxford. Their high personal character, and their efforts among the poor and the igno-

rant, led to their being taunted as Bible Bigots, the Godly Club, and Methodists; a name of intended reproach that, like Christian, Lollard, Puritan, Nonconformist, and Quaker, was accepted as a crown of glory. While these devoted men and their associates laboured in a spirit and to an extent that was Apostolic, it is melancholy to know that the major part of the duly-appointed official religious teachers neglected their work, and were indifferent to the prevailing ignorance, vice, crime, and misery that threatened to sap the foundations of society. When the Wesleys and Whitefield were ordained, and began to preach, their bitterest opponents and calumniators were the beneficed clergy. Wesley narrates in his 'Journals' many instances of the insults, falsehoods, abuse, threats, and violence to which he and his followers were subjected. If they were assailed, pelted, dragged through the horsepond, or soused under the pump by a drunken mob, it was often led by the village parson. With noble exceptions, like John Fletcher of Madeley, John Berridge, Augustus Toplady, John Newton, William Romaine, James Hervey, Richard Cecil, Charles Simeon, and Henry Venn—some of whom widely differed from Wesley on doctrinal grounds—the clergy at large cared not whether the people remained ignorant, drunken, and immoral, so long as their own monopoly was unassailed. Nor were the multitude likely to be attracted and influenced by the humdrum respectability and the frigid discourses of most of the Nonconformist chapels; but they were aroused and won by the zeal of the Methodists. Driven out from many of the churches, the evangelists commenced field-preaching, and achieved extraordinary success. Their lines diverged by a renewal of the ancient controversy known by the names of Calvinism and Arminianism; which, it must be repeated, dates back, not only to the time of Augustine of Hippo, but to the Primitive Church.

Whitefield was the prince of theological orators. His sermons, while marked by only a moderate degree of intellectual power, became, by constant repetition and improvement, marvels of dramatic art. He swayed the emotions and passions of his vast audiences, whether drawn from fashionable circles or from the semi-savage colliers of Kingswood and the Forest of

Dean, in a manner seldom equalled and never excelled. Even the cast in his eyes, as in the case of Edward Irving, was said to add to the effect produced. John Wesley, though also a great preacher, of a different type, was especially an able organiser and administrator, Macaulay considered his genius for government not inferior to that of Richelieu. Like dominant minds of his order, he had strong tendencies towards autocracy, if not to sacerdotalism. By a deed-poll enrolled in Chancery he imposed upon his Connection rules and regulations which modern circumstances render irksome and impracticable. He was by temperament, education, preference, and habit a Tory and a High Churchman. He firmly maintained that none had authority to administer the Sacraments without Episcopal ordination. An extraordinary feature of his character was that while he set others in motion that became enthusiasm, he remained calm, and almost phlegmatic; and was what Robert Hall paradoxically described as the quiescence of turbulence. As a study in psychology, it is curious to note that he was largely influenced by Thomas à Kempis, Jeremy Taylor, Jacob Behmen, William Law, and, for a time, by the Moravians, whose cradle, at Herrnhut, he visited in 1738. There he saw Count Zinzendorf, who refounded a community that traced its lineage to John Huss. The Moravian teaching on instantaneous conversion, and an accompanying assurance of salvation, had a powerful influence on the doctrinal views and future work of Wesley; though he subsequently broke away from them and also repudiated Law's teaching. Wesley believed in the supernatural, including ghosts and witchcraft. His 'Journals' contain many entries of what he regarded as modern miracles, wrought in confirmation of his teachings, for which Warburton vehemently rebuked him, and record a wide range of reading during his lengthened journeys on horseback, that would astonish and scandalize the more rigid of his followers.

His younger brother, Charles, was closely associated with the movement, and is known as the author of some of the best hymns in the English language; devout in sentiment and of much lyrical sweetness. It is remarkable that John Wesley, who was acquainted with Barclay's

'Apology,' never mentions Fox. Yet the early Quakers anticipated Methodism in some important points, as well as in the curious detail of conducting meetings for business by means of answers to specific queries. After the separation of Wesley and Whitefield, the latter was taken up by Selina, Countess of Huntingdon (1707–1791); a woman of extraordinary courage and energy, who appointed him her chaplain, and invited the nobility to her house to hear him preach. In strength of will she rivalled the Wesleys, and her faculty of organization was scarcely inferior. Her wealth, influence, and talents were freely given. She founded colleges at Trevecca and at Cheshunt; built numerous chapels; sent out and supported ministers and evangelists; founded the Connexion still known by her name and endowed by her munificence; and she is the virtual originator of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales. In that country, Griffith Jones, Howel Harris, and Daniel Rowlands had been carrying on, independently of the Wesleys, a work of religious revival which other clergymen, like William Wroth, Rees Prichard, and Walter Cradock had continued from the days of Vavasor Powell, perpetuating the labours of John Penry, one of the Elizabethan martyrs. They were cast out from the Established Church with contumely; but their work remained. The fruits are perennial, through the zeal and devotion of subsequent labourers, like Thomas Charles of Bala, John Elias, Ebenezer Morris, and Ebenezer Richard.

Various branches of the great Methodist family now existing in all parts of the world have sprung from resistance to asserted priestly pretensions and claims, leading to repeated secessions. The first Conference was convened by Wesley in 1744, to settle questions of doctrine and discipline. His adherents bore to the Episcopal Church a relation analogous to that of the English Reformers of the sixteenth century to the Church of Rome. He called into existence a little army of field-preachers and class-leaders; earnest, sturdy men, often of a narrow intellectual horizon, but of deep feeling and strong conviction, who stirred the masses by fervid appeals and by bold imagery. He disclaimed all intention of founding a sect. "My parish is the world," he said,

He never regarded himself or his followers as Dissenters, although, of course, they were so, both technically and really. To the close of his life he cherished the illusion, shared by generations of his most distinguished ministerial successors, that he and they remained within the Established Church. He dissuaded from and forbade separation; but was compelled, in self-defence, and for the protection of his people, to register his chapels under the Toleration Act. He cordially worked with the few Evangelical clergymen, preaching in their pulpits when allowed to do so, and exhorting his adherents to attend the Church services on Sunday mornings. If its leaders and rulers had possessed understanding of the times, they would never have driven forth a large body of devoted and able men, whose banishment plunged it into profound torpor for nearly a century. But the English hierarchy, unlike its progenitor, the Romish Church, in the case of the Monks, the Friars, and the Jesuits, has seldom been wise in its generation, or known how to control the zeal or to use the novel methods of ardent enthusiasts. How Wesley was regarded by the leading men of his day significantly appears from the letters of Horace Walpole, who so failed to understand the nature and to perceive the trend of the movement as to write of it in terms resembling the cynical scepticism in which Pliny the younger refers to the early Christians. Indeed, the Paganism of Pliny was more reputable than the emasculated Christianity of Walpole.

CHAPTER LXIX.

PARLIAMENTARY RULE.

A.D. 1727–1760.

THERE is little else to record of the reign of George I., which ended June 11, 1727. Stricken with apoplexy while journeying to Hanover, he never rallied. His son and namesake has been sketched in well-known terms by salacious scandal-mongers like Lord John Hervey, Horace

Walpole, and George Selwyn; and by modern satirists and pessimists. Just as he had quarrelled with his father, so his son, Frederick, Prince of Wales, differed with and hated him; and, as in the former case, the dislike was reciprocal. The feud continued until the death of the Prince in 1737. A vicious fool, mean and cowardly and false to every one, his death was a relief to the nation. These Court scandals and family disputes are of no modern concern, any more than the sayings and doings of the stupid, pompous George II. (b. 1683, r. 1727–1760), whom his cousin, the terrible Frederick William of Prussia, satirically styled,—"My brother the comedian." He was despised as well as disliked. He cared for nothing but women and soldiers, and the pleasures of the table. Nor are there any noteworthy events during the first fourteen years of the reign. Sir Robert Walpole (1676–1745) was the principal Minister. After filling various offices, he became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer in April, 1721. He was the first of that line of statesmen-Commoners who have been in recent times leaders of Parliament. He ruled the Queen, Caroline of Anspach (1682–1727), and, through her, ruled her husband, who was vastly her inferior in intelligence and capacity. At her philosophical parties, questions of all kinds were discussed with a frankness that would astonish modern decorum. Not content with being, next to Walpole, the chief political power in the country, she amused her leisure by dabbling in the theological and literary controversies of the day, and was the friend and patroness of men like Bishop Berkeley, Bishop Butler, and Dr. Samuel Clarke.

Walpole's great financial skill was taxed to the utmost in the crisis caused by the South Sea Bubble. He acted with commendable decision, and succeeded in restoring tranquillity; thus giving promise, which was amply fulfilled, of being the greatest commercial Minister this country had ever seen; as is attested by the opinion of the best economic writers. His attention was next turned to the heavy taxes upon trade. With a discernment and a courage far in advance of his age, he abolished Import Duties on thirty-eight articles of raw materials, and Export Duties on one hundred and six articles of British

manufacture. In this he partly anticipated the enlightened views of trade first propounded in systematic form half a century later by the genius of Adam Smith, and carried into practical effect by Sir Robert Peel and by his great pupil, Mr. Gladstone. He also largely freed the colonial trade of Carolina, Georgia, and the West Indies, thereby developing their exports. This was in marked contrast to certain Acts passed just before he took office, in homage to the old Protective Spirit. One of them, in 1720, was designed to preserve and encourage the silk and woollen manufactures, by prohibiting the use of printed or dyed calico in dress and furniture, under a penalty of five pounds. Such restrictions proved futile, as they have always done. Every legislative attempt to force trade and manufactures into other than their natural channels, to compel the use of articles which are less eligible or less liked, and to prohibit the use of other articles, is sure in the end to fail, and to aggravate the evils which it professes to remove. The extent to which the cotton manufacture of England has since grown, exhibits the prohibition in a most absurd light.

A similar nugatory attempt was made by another Statute, passed in the same year, to compel the manufacture and use of buttons and button-holes made of silk, mohair, and thread, instead of those made of cloth, serge, camlet, and other stuffs. A third Act, which continued in force for nearly half a century, was designed to regulate journeymen tailors, by prohibiting trade combinations to advance the rate of wages and to lessen the hours of work, under a penalty of two months' imprisonment. This Act also prescribed the hours of work to be from six in the morning to eight at night, and the amount of wages to be two shillings a day for the four Summer months, and one shilling and eightpence for the remainder of the year. Workmen were not to quit their employment until the expiration of the term for which they were hired, nor to refuse work when offered, under pain of imprisonment. Master-tailors paying more than the regulated wages were to forfeit five pounds for each offence. A similar enactment was passed in 1725, "to prevent unlawful combinations of workmen employed in woollen manufactures," adding, however, a salutary

provision, which subsequent efforts of the Legislature have had to enforce, against what is commonly known as "the truck system," or payment of wages in goods instead of in money.

Walpole's uniform rule of action was expediency. Never popular, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, his strength lay in the unwavering support of the monied and commercial classes. It is usually said that he had no faith in human nature. He is supposed to be the author of the cynical apophthegm,—"Every man has his price." What he really said was,—"All these men have their price," referring to the ostentatious professions of unscrupulous and self-seeking placemen who had ratted several times for a consideration. If he gave bribes freely, he accepted none. In conformity with a baleful custom, he provided amply out of the public funds for his children, even while at school, by giving them life appointments to sinecure offices. His own dominant passion was not avarice, but love of power. Scandalously ignorant of history and of literature, coarse, and even gross, in habits and in conversation, as was the custom of the age, he was a close observer of men, and he understood, better than any of his associates or rivals, the temper of Parliament and of the nation. No one was ever more skilful in humouring and managing the House of Commons, while contriving for the most part to carry his own policy. It was strictly accurate to say of him, as Disraeli remarked, in a rare fit of generosity, of Sir Robert Peel, that he played upon the House as if it had been an old fiddle. Walpole revived the Order of the Bath, which is said to have been in abeyance, as a cheap method of rewarding a friend or buying off a possible foe. Bad precedents had been set before his time, and they were followed, in aggravated forms, long after he left office. A low standard of public opinion and of political virtue prevailed. Gross corruptions had gathered round the representative and the administrative systems, inevitable results of the tergiversation and profligacy of the Stuart Restoration. Large sums had to be paid for every high office, as was openly and unblushingly recognised, just as, down to the year 1871, a commission in the Army could be obtained by purchase at or beyond a regulation price.

Cowper did not exaggerate when he wrote, sixty years later, that the legend, "Bankrupt and battered fortunes mended here," might be "charactered on every statesman's door."

The pages of Fielding and of Smollett exhibit in bold colours, what the more prosaic writers of the time hint at obliquely—that systematic corruption prevailed in every branch of the public service. Fees were exacted and bribes had to be paid at every step by the office-seeker, who often found that all his hopes and expectations by means of gold and silver keys were in vain. The custom of guests giving "vails" to servants on leaving the host's dinner-table had its counterpart in political and official life. Cadwallader Crabtree, the cynical humorist in 'Peregrine Pickle,' mentions a great man who amused him for seven years with a promise of a commission in the Army. Parson Adams, in 'Joseph Andrews,' in return for some election work, receives from Sir Thomas Booby a promise, never kept, of a presentation to a benefice. Tom Bowling hopes in vain to secure for his nephew, Roderick Random, a warrant as surgeon's mate, through his good friend the beadle at the Admiralty, who is supposed to have gradations of influence in an ascending scale up to the Secretary. Lieutenant Booth, in 'Amelia,' wishing to be placed again on the active list, slips a bank note into the hands of a clerk, who takes it, but does nothing, for the sufficient reason that it was not within his power to do anything. Incidents such as these were drawn from the life. Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville (1690–1763), declared, when succeeding Walpole, that it was impossible to govern England except by corruption. It flowed through a hundred ignoble channels. "Every one for himself, and the Exchequer for all," was an unwritten maxim for nearly two hundred years with those "who vote for hire, or point it with lampoon, the dear-bought placeman and the cheap buffoon." Walpole succeeded in using the Secret Service Money, to the extent of many thousands every year, more dexterously, and in obtaining as a return a larger measure of support, than any other Cabinet Minister of the century. It was no uncommon circumstance for a member to receive five hundred or a thousand pounds at the end of a Session, in

recognition of voting for the Government. Newspaper writers and pamphleteers were openly employed and liberally paid. The men who clamoured most loudly against Walpole practised the same system after his retirement. Not until the year 1887 was a pernicious and indefensible custom abolished, and then by a Conservative Government, of voting in the Estimates an annual sum of ten thousand pounds to the Patronage Secretary of the Treasury, who used the money at his sole discretion for party purposes, rendering no account.

The system pursued by Walpole, following an evil custom, was not calculated to evoke high political aspirations. Personally he was not tyrannical or unjust. He governed by corruption ; but it was not then, or for a long subsequent period, deemed shameful to buy the vote of a member of Parliament, any more than it was deemed shameful, until recently, for a member to buy the votes of electors, or than it still is for electors to exact money from members and candidates for a variety of selfish purposes. Having obtained Parliamentary supremacy, Walpole did not employ it to trample upon the liberties of his country. He laughed at or despised the noisy patriots, who have their prototypes in every age, whom he did not care to buy at their own valuation. He said, in one of his speeches,—"Why ! patriots spring up like mushrooms. I could raise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or insolent demand, and up starts a patriot." Johnson held that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel, and his famous definition of a pension, partly founded on the satirical verses by Pope, was true for nearly a century and a half :—"An allowance made to any one without an equivalent. In England, it is generally understood to mean pay given to a State hireling for treason to his country." The definition caused some qualms to Johnson when, in the early days of George III., he accepted a pension of three hundred pounds in recognition of literary merits. Some of the definitions in his 'Dictionary,' as in the case of the words Excise, Oats, Whig, and Tory, served only to introduce his strong personal opinions or prejudices ; while the meanings

attached to the words Lexicographer and Grub-street contain playful allusions to himself.

The difficult circumstances in which Walpole was placed by the claims of the Pretender, and by the unpopularity of the House of Hanover, may be pleaded in extenuation. Zeal for the Protestant Succession, and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe, formed his guiding principles. He was, for his time, wonderfully averse to the extreme severities of the law. The suppression of the Rebellion of 1745, when he was in his grave, was attended with much greater harshness than that of 1715, when he had a voice in the Council. He was magnanimous towards political opponents, and his clemency and absence of personal resentment have never been fully recognised. He recalled Bolingbroke from exile in France, and only smiled at the malice and the political plots with which the benefit was repaid, and at the ceaseless attacks made upon him for ten years in the weekly 'Craftsman,' founded in 1726 under Bolingbroke's management. Walpole showed many acts of kindness to irreconcilable enemies, and conferred numerous favours on ungrateful friends. He had special reason to despise the mob of toadies and place-hunters who dogged his steps, only to forsake him if greater advantages were likely to be reaped elsewhere. When it was thought that he would be displaced on the accession of George II., his house was deserted, and the sycophants crowded his rival's antechambers. They trooped back in a few hours when they found that no change was intended. He knew it all, and estimated at their true value both the popularity and the odium. Fielding's Squire Western is the incarnation of old English tradition and obstinacy—a type of man who would rather be anything than a courtier, a Presbyterian, or a Hanoverian, who hated Whig finance, and would not grow turnips because they had been introduced by Lord Townshend, a Whig statesman. All good Tories made a strong point of denouncing opponents as a German Ministry, who made English interests subservient to those of Hanover. The Whigs retorted by charges of Jacobitism, and said that if the Pretender were restored he would repudiate the National Debt and ruin the fundholders. It was urged that he

could only succeed by the aid of the French, who were ridiculed for their dress, manners, diet, and language.

Burke, who vindicated Walpole from the charge of systematic corruption for his own benefit, sums up his great services:—"The prudence, steadiness, and vigilance of that man, joined to the greatest possible lenity in his character and his politics, preserved the Crown to this royal family, and with it the laws and liberties to this country." Burke was a youth of fifteen when Walpole died. He knew that the system of government by a Cabinet responsible to Parliament was largely due to Walpole, who gave the decisive bias at a critical moment. To him it is mainly owing that the English administration is carried on, not by a personal autocracy, as in Russia, nor by an Imperial Chancellor, as in Germany, nor by a party Cabinet excluded from the Legislature, as in the United States, but by direct Parliamentary control of the responsible heads of the great departments of State. Another thing that contributed to this was the publicity tacitly given to Parliamentary debates, which came to be fully conceded in due time. The question of reporting the proceedings had been frequently raised, and voted a grave offence. After the accession of George I., a colourless account appeared in Abel Boyer's 'Historical Register,' and then, at greater length, in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' with its editorial pseudonym, still maintained, of "Sylvanus Urban, Gent." It was first issued by Edward Cave, in 1731. The meagre report was given, under feigned names, as Debates in the Senate of Great Lilliput, partly from the pen of Dr. Samuel Johnson, who, from November, 1740, to February, 1743, concocted the speeches from slight hints and outlines furnished to him. The formal periods, the balanced antitheses, and the Latin phraseology are characteristic of the writer, for there is an utter absence of verisimilitude. Some of the early speeches attributed to the elder Pitt and to Lord Chesterfield were thus compiled by Johnson, in a garret in Exeter-street, according to his own statement. But he fell into the mistake of "making the little fishes talk like whales." He said that he always took care to let the Whig dogs have the worst of it; for his strong Tory prejudices made him affirm, in

his own dogmatic fashion, that Whiggism was the negation of all principle, and that the first Whig was the devil; yet with a special reservation in favour of Edmund Burke, whom he admired and loved. He was accustomed to speak of "the bottomless Whigs," meaning that their hollow formulas were a cloak for private interest.

For a long period, reporters were obliged to trust to their memories, being forbidden to take notes of speeches in Parliament, as is still the case with that extremely limited portion of the public who are contemptuously permitted to gain access with difficulty to the Strangers' Gallery. It was the only place then available to reporters, who, like the public, were regarded as intruders, and admitted only on sufferance. George III. repeatedly urged Lord North to put a stop to the publication of debates in the newspapers, in order to prevent the speeches of Chatham and Burke from being known. He once wrote that the House of Lords was "the best Court to bring such miscreants before, as it can fine as well as imprison, and has broader shoulders to support the odium of so salutary a measure." Sometimes, an irascible or fussy member complained of inaccuracy or misrepresentation in these unauthorized reports, and then the printers were haled to the bar of the House, and were fined or imprisoned. One notorious case was in 1771, when a messenger of the House of Commons attempted to arrest the printer of the 'London Evening Post,' within the Corporation limits, but without having his warrant backed by an alderman. He was committed to prison by Crosby, the Lord Mayor, and by Oliver and Wilkes, two aldermen, the two former of whom were sent to the Tower by the House. The arbitrary procedure was carried out under the plea of Privilege, which Burke called "the eldest son of Prerogative, inheriting all the vices of its parent." Another case, that of Hansard *v.* Stockdale, in 1838, for alleged libel, at length reduced the asserted privilege to an absurdity, and led to its virtual abandonment, so far as concerned the Press. But the assumption of penal power has not yet been renounced by the Legislature, although dangerous and unconstitutional. Ever and anon, Parliament renders itself ridiculous by citing to its bar and

incarcerating some person who is held to have offended its majesty or conceit. Not until 1833 was any provision made for reporters. Three years later, the division lists were first published. Hitherto, it had been a breach of privilege to announce how members voted. James Grant, in his work on 'The Newspaper Press,' gives amusing instances of the difficulties and struggles of Parliamentary reporting.

Besides the magizines above named, others appeared by the middle of the century, including the 'London,' the 'British,' the 'Universal,' and the 'Traveller.' One issue, called 'The Magazine of Magazines,' gave the pith of its monthly contemporaries; as Cave had first done with the essays in the weeklies. Another class of publications appeared, in reviews of books, such as the 'Literary,' and the 'Critical,' in 1752; the latter under Smollett's editorship. They were regarded for some time with a feeling of hostility by authors, and were the frequent occasion of quarrels, not only in the form of reprisals on paper, but by encounters in duels. Nor is this surprising, when the coarse savagery of men like John Dennis—a modern Thersites, remembered solely because Pope gibbeted him in the 'Dunciad,' and who found imitators in Richard Bentley, William Maginn, William Gifford, and John Wilson Croker—took pleasure in a style of vulgar denunciation and of truculent abuse that would have disgraced a Yahoo; or when some critics displayed the ignorant self-complacency of Fadladeen, in 'Lalla Rookh.'

Walpole's proposal, in 1732, to introduce an improved system of collecting Import Duties, so as to put a stop to prevalent waste and peculation, met with such interested resistance that he judged a withdrawal to be prudent. He could have carried it, but said he would not collect taxes at the expense of blood; although retaining his opinion, in which the greatest modern financial authorities concur, that the scheme, since adopted, would tend greatly to the public advantage, by increasing the productiveness of the tax, while diminishing the cost of collection, and mitigating the pressure by allowing dutiable articles to remain in bond. But one of the epidemics of selfishness, unreason, and panic raged with

violence. The country resounded with shouts of "No slavery!" "No wooden shoes!" "Liberty; Property; and no Excise!" and other blatant catch-phrases, equally intelligent and appropriate. Johnson's definition of Excise is but the echo of what was commonly said and believed. In this matter, however, and in his resistance for a time to the Spanish War, Walpole's attitude is now generally approved. He yielded, in the latter case, against his judgment, at the demand of Parliamentary faction, mercantile cupidity, and popular clamour. The ancient jealousy and hatred of Spain had smouldered since the time of the Armada, with occasional outbursts against the monopoly of trade with South America. The Spaniards always insisted on exclusive dealings with their own colonies, and on the right to search vessels suspected of infringement. By the Treaty of Utrecht, only one British ship was permitted to trade annually with Spanish America. As in the days of Elizabeth, not a few adventurers ran the risk for purposes of lucrative contraband trade. Sometimes, as is not surprising, the right of search was asserted in an arbitrary manner. One such instance, the case of Captain Jenkins, of the "Rebecca," is described by Carlyle, with grim humour, in his 'Life of Frederick.' It was made the pretext, after seven years, of another war with Spain, which was declared on October 19, 1739; a war for plunder, in the guise of exclusive markets, and with an eye to the fabled wealth of Peru. For that wanton war, Pope sung his dying strains, and Dr. Johnson, in more energetic and sonorous language, employed his genius.

Fifty years later, Burke declared, after examining the original documents, and conversing with the principal actors, that he was "perfectly satisfied with the extreme injustice of the war, and of the falsehood of the colours which, to Walpole's own ruin, and guided by a mistaken policy, he suffered to be daubed over that measure." He bent before the storm of popular clamour; but when the church steeples and the street bonfires proclaimed the mad delight, he punningly exclaimed, with remarkable prescience,—"They may ring their bells now, but they will soon be wringing their hands." It was a fatal mistake, and was the proximate cause of his fall three

years later. He foresaw that a war with Spain would eventually involve one with France, and that other complications would bring on a European conflict. The death of the Emperor Charles VI., on October 20, 1740, was the signal for an outburst of perfidy and rapine. Arrangements which had been settled by all the Powers of Europe with so much diplomatic finesse, in 1713, under the title of the Pragmatic Sanction, were summarily and unscrupulously set aside. A rival of Maria Theresa of Austria, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and daughter of the late Emperor, appeared in Frederick II. of Prussia, commonly called the Great. In the midst of the crisis, and before news could arrive of some decisive naval battles in the West Indies and on the Spanish American coast, Walpole was openly attacked in Parliament, where his majority had been dwindling. The contest continued during the Session of 1741, and in the following February he resigned, after an almost unbroken tenure of power for twenty-one years.

Walpole lived but three years to enjoy his pension of four thousand pounds and his new title of Earl of Orford. England, as he foresaw, was drawn into the disastrous and costly War of the Austrian Succession, which lasted for eight years. She entered upon her usual course of subsidizing her Allies, and had to bear the chief expense of supporting mercenary troops. The Battle of Dettingen, for which Handel composed a Te Deum, was fought June 27, 1743, and was the last battle in which a King of England personally took part. It ended in the defeat of the French; but the Battle of Fontenoy, May 11, 1745, was a drawn one, owing, partly, to the failure of Dutch support, but, chiefly, to the incapacity, if not to the cowardice, of the Duke of Cumberland, who commanded. No Te Deums appear to have been sung on this occasion. The practice is often of questionable propriety, especially when both sides sing them. Ghent, Ostend, and other towns yielded to the French; and Frederick II., having captured Silesia, continued his triumphal career against Austria, in pursuance of a scheme to raise his small kingdom to the first rank. The war waged with varying results until the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in April, 1748, which provided for a mutual restitution of con-

quests in every part of the world. Not a single point was gained for which England had been fighting with Spain. In particular, the right of search was not surrendered. The cost to England exceeded forty-three millions, thirty of which were added to the National Debt. Frederick of Prussia pursued his chosen path of selfish rapacity and military aggrandizement, making alliances and breaking them to suit his convenience, until both Prussia and Austria had to terminate the strife for a time through common exhaustion. He retained Silesia, and that province, with Saxony, was desolated. Berlin itself had been more than once captured. Frederick was, in the end, successful; but at an enormous loss of men and money, realizing the truth of the Duke of Wellington's sententious remark to Sir Walter Scott, that nothing is so dreadful as a battle lost, except a battle won.

Traditional hostility towards France and Spain had not a little to do with deferring a much-needed alteration of the Calendar, so as to bring the nominal and the actual time into accord. This had been generally done in Europe in 1582, under the influence of Pope Gregory XIII.; but it remained in abeyance in England until 1752, when it was enacted that eleven days should be dropped in the reckoning after the second of September. At the same time, the old ecclesiastical usage of dating the year from the twenty-fifth of March, being Lady-day, or the Annunciation, was abandoned. Wherever both years are recorded in connection with a date from January 1 to March 24, both inclusive—*e.g.*, February 10, 170$\frac{0}{1}$—the lower figure is the modern and correct year. Provision was made for omitting leap-year from future centenniads, so as to ensure the true time, as regulated by the exact period occupied by the earth in its annual revolution round the sun. The change gave rise to much popular discontent; the ignorant supposing that they were actually being defrauded of a portion of their life. Some clergymen denounced it as blasphemy and sacrilege, as their predecessors did the first use of forks, and as some of them protested against inoculation as a tempting of Providence. Hogarth refers to the proposal in one of his

Four Prints of an Election, where the imbecile cry is raised,—"Give us back our eleven days!" These pictures form a continuous panorama of a carnival of riot, greed, venality, drunkenness, and profligacy. They reveal the coarse humours, the brutality, and the corruption of such contests throughout the eighteenth century, and that survived within living memory. Nominations were made from the hustings, amidst turbulent scenes; and an open table for all comers was kept for the fifteen days of the polling. Hogarth depicts the Independent Electors' Arms, the sign of the public-house, as a shield bearing three guineas, with an open mouth, and the motto, "Ask, and Have!" The pipe-lights are made of the printed Act against bribery and corruption. In the street, two rival processions are fighting. Candidates and agents are buying votes. Portly farmers and voracious tradesmen are eating and drinking to repletion. All the pictures are crowded with similar details.

The Continental imbroglio was seized upon by the Jacobites as an opportunity for another rising in Scotland. The Pretender, son of James II., was living in Rome; but his son, Charles Edward, with a few adherents, landed in the Western Highlands in July, 1745. Troops were sent to quell the rising, but they were almost annihilated in the Battle of Preston Pans, near Edinburgh, on the twenty-first of September. Evading another army, the Highlanders marched as far as Derby; and such was the panic—ridiculed in Hogarth's March of the Guards to Finchley, which aroused the ire of the King—that they might have reached London; but a retreat was ordered, which proved fatal. They re-crossed the Border, and won the Battle of Falkirk, January 18, 1746. The Duke of Cumberland, one of the sons of George II., was appointed to the supreme command, as a Court job. After the Battle of Culloden, near Inverness, April 16, 1746, he entered upon a course of brutal procedure which has affixed to him the infamous epithet of the Butcher; and he is responsible for the deliberate acts of torture and murder, and for the wanton destruction of houses and property that marked the track of the soldiers. The

scaffold and the gallows received a hecatomb of victims. The whole of the Highlanders were disarmed. Charles Edward, after many hair-breadth escapes during six months, went to France. On the death of his father, James Francis Edward, at Rome, December 30, 1765, he was mortified that none of the European Courts, and not even the Pope, would recognise his claims. They were deemed as shadowy as the seventy phantom peers whom he and his father pretentiously created. He became moody and discontented, addicted himself to drink and to low pleasures, was a slave to vices that seemed hereditary, and died at Florence, unpitied and obscure, January 30, 1788. His brother Henry, a mild and inoffensive man, became a Cardinal at Rome, and received an English pension of four thousand pounds until his death in 1807. In Scott's 'Waverley,' the Pretender appears very much as he was; and in 'Redgauntlet' the last spark of the Jacobite rising goes out in utter darkness.

Apart from the question of sentiment, of which far more has been made than the facts of the case warrant, it is needful to remember that since the Act of Union, except in a few instances when attempts were made to rule Scotland by English methods, raising only a storm and whirlwind of resistance, it had been found convenient to entrust the administration of affairs to a single Minister of Scottish birth and possessions, but with political connections at Westminster. The powerful Whig family of Argyle long exercised this kind of authority. In the early part of the reign of George III. there were family and party fluctuations, until, with the Ministry of the younger Pitt, the local rule centred in one Tory family, and became what was known as the Dundas Despotism, exercised by the first Viscount Melville, and described in Lord Cockburn's 'Memorials.' It is impossible not to honour and admire the sentiment, so far as it really existed among a restricted few, that caused such attachment to the unworthy representative of the exiled House of Stuart, even while censuring the attempts to disturb a settlement in which the great majority of the people concurred. The numerous Jacobite songs and ballads of the time—one of the most touching of which is Shen-

stone's 'Jemmy Dawson'—and the pathetic stories which have come down to modern days, allowing for poetical colouring and embellishment, show the depth and tenderness of feeling entertained by those who were truly Jacobites towards a fallen and proscribed family. To its English partisans it was the overthrow of hopes cherished for sixty years; and with that generation Jacobitism passed away, excepting as a tradition among a few enthusiasts.

After the retirement of Walpole, in 1742, there were several Cabinets, including the Broad-bottom, under Henry Pelham (1695–1764); the Short-lived, under the Earl of Bath (1682–1764), lasting only two days; and that of the Duke of Newcastle, from June, 1757. The name of William Pitt (1708–1778), afterwards Earl of Chatham, first appears prominently at this time. George II. was afraid of him, and could not understand his long harangues, his sesquipedalian sentences, and his grand manner; but was reluctantly compelled to consent to his having a subordinate post in the Ministry. In 1756, he became Secretary of State, and virtual Prime Minister. His will was law to his colleagues, none of whom could endure his imperious frown, any more than the House of Commons could withstand his august disdain or his vehement denunciations, or the Niagara of sounding words which he poured forth. One of his habits was to retire to his country seat, like Achilles to his tent, and refuse all interviews, letters, or messages; or else to affect a convenient attack of gout, until his policy was implicitly adopted. A rhetorical artifice common with him was to assume the language, the tone, and the bearing of profound humility and self-depreciation, which is often nothing else than thinly-veiled egotism and self-seeking. The Great Commoner has been represented as an incorruptible patriot among a crowd of venal politicians; but an examination of the 'Chatham Correspondence' reveals a spirit of intrigue for place and pension, and a line of conduct strangely at variance with the received theory. His peerage was the reward conferred by George III. for retracting the verbal Liberal creed of earlier days; but Chatham subsequently rendered signal service during the

first part of the American struggle, by his bold and magnificent utterances in defence of the Colonists.

For upwards of a century, the English and French, the Dutch and Portuguese had been carrying on with varying success a trade with India. There were mutual jealousy and rivalry, and frequent collisions with native rulers. The English were barely tolerated, in 1640, in founding a settlement at Madras. Within fifty years, their influence had greatly extended; and by the middle of the eighteenth century they were formidable and threatening to the ancient government of the Moguls. Between 1745 and 1761 they became the strongest power and laid the foundations of a mighty empire. Clive at Arcot and at Plassey, Stringer Lawrence at Trichinopoly, Sir Eyre Coote at Wandewash, and other capable and daring men, had the courage to undertake responsibilities from which weaker men would have shrunk. The powerful East India Company was established in 1702 by an amalgamation of two existing Chartered bodies. Ere long, this great trading corporation wielded sovereign authority over a distant empire; set up and dethroned princes; levied vast taxes; made peace and war; and exercised a commercial monopoly which no private persons could break through. Successive Charters were granted, conferring additional powers, always in return for valuable consideration, and reserving a quasi-control to the English government. When war was declared in 1744 between England and France, Joseph Francis Dupleix (1697–1764), governor of the French settlement of Pondicherry, formed a bold plan to drive the English out of India. Madras was besieged and captured; but it had to be restored by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Other disputes ended in an armed neutrality, the two nations taking opposite sides in native rivalries, and impatiently awaiting the crisis that was certain to occur.

The people of India were not homogeneous, under one powerful ruler. They were divided into separate states and tribes, with rivalries dating back for centuries. Mohammedan marauders had established dynasties, and were, in their turn, overthrown. The great Mogul empire in the North was crumbling to decay. Powerful

tributaries had set up independent authority in the Deccan, in the Karnátic, and in Mysore. North-Western India was Hindu, and peopled by the Sikhs, South of whom was another Hindu state of Rajputana, and, still further south, were the powerful Marhattás. With all these the English eventually became involved, by conflict or by treaty; but, at the outset, they were only brought into contact with the enfeebled and decaying Mogul empire. The real dispute lay with the French, and the determining factor was England's supremacy on the sea, which rendered her ultimate conquest of India not only possible but certain. If her navy had not proved superior to that of France, the Empire of India could never have been won, nor could it have been retained without such supremacy when England was fighting there for life. The same policy was pursued with regard to supremacy in America. Pitt discerned alike the national danger and the only means of escape. His policy was to subsidize Frederick of Prussia, without involving England in active participation in the Continental war; so as to concentrate all her resources for obtaining the dominion of the sea, with a view to the expulsion of the French from America. The plan laid down, and successfully accomplished, was to blockade the Channel and the Atlantic ports, so that no French ships could attack England or bring supplies into the River St. Lawrence; to watch the Straits of Gibraltar, and keep the French fleet in the Mediterranean; to prevent expeditions being sent to America and India; and to attack the French settlements in the West Indies. No effort or money was spared to equip a powerful English Navy; and, as a result, that of France was practically annihilated by Boscawen's attack upon Toulon and by Hawke's blockade of Brest, and by his victory in Quiberon Bay, November 20, 1759. Havre, Dunkirk, and other ports, were also invested, and all danger of an invasion by France passed away. Pitt had breathed a new spirit into the nation; he initiated a great colonial policy; and he developed the Navy, at a cost, and with a boldness, that staggered financiers, and that could only be justified by a successful realization of the momentous issues at stake.

Robert Clive commenced his marvellous career as a merchant's clerk in Madras. He entered the service of the East India Company at the age of twenty-one, and gave early promise of military and governing genius. At the head of a small force of two hundred English troops and three hundred Sepoys, he captured Arcot, a city of one hundred thousand inhabitants, within the French territory. By this bold act, followed by three other victories, he broke the spell of French authority over the natives. He recaptured Calcutta from Suraj-ud-Daulá, in January, 1757, and was afterwards Governor of Bengal. He displayed vast administrative capacity, and raised the British name to an unexampled height of power and renown in the East. On his return to England, shortly after the accession of George III., he was received with much honour, and was created an Irish peer. Disturbances in Bengal, caused by incompetence and misrule, were so threatening that he was sent out again in 1765, armed with supreme authority. In eighteen months, he effected a settlement, checked abuses, suppressed mutiny, and placed the administration on a secure basis ; but, of course, made enemies of those whose nepotism and rapacity he had curbed. He was successively censured, pardoned, thanked, and rewarded by the Legislature. The fact of his having bought ten boroughs had not a little to do with the condonation of his undoubted stretch of authority. After several years of suffering from illness brought on by the Indian climate and by his gigantic labours, he committed suicide in a fit of despondency, in November, 1774. Admitting the faults of such a man, under the special circumstances, he will ever be honoured as the founder of the English empire in the East. In this way was determined the question whether France or England was to rule India ; for the Dutch had gone to the Archipelago, with its rich spice islands, and the atrocities of the Inquisition at Goa had caused the Portuguese to lose India. Possibilities were opened up, such as not even the most adventurous and far-seeing could have anticipated, of a sovereignty or a protectorate embracing, within about a century, nearly three hundred millions of the human race.

A large group of questions awaited solution at that

time; such as whether Spain was to continue to monopolize the commerce of the Tropics; whether Germany should attain to a national existence; which of the great Powers of Europe was to control the ocean-carrying trade, and thus secure the chief place in the markets of the world; and whether the French language, laws, institutions, and usages, or those of England, were to prevail over the vast North American continent. The last question, which is discussed with care by Francis Parkman, was brought to an issue and decided about the same time that the struggle for the possession of India came to an end. Across the Atlantic, the French occupation of Canada for a century and a half had been more of the nature of a military post than of a Colonial dependency. Like the Spaniards, they were so incurably infected with the passion for obtaining wealth, by means independent of regular and sober industry, that they never addressed themselves in earnest to the cultivation of the soil, and never attained to anything like a state of real prosperity. Courageous Jesuit missionaries, and adventurers like Louis Joliet, Marquette, and Nicholas de la Salle had traversed portions of the interior, encountering great perils and privations. The gigantic bubble known as the Mississippi Scheme of John Law, a Scotchman settled in Paris, was blown in 1717, and burst in 1720. Its object was to develop that unknown tract of country, alleged to abound in the precious metals. Exclusive trading privileges were obtained, with power to coin money and to levy and farm taxes. For three years France abandoned herself to the delirious excitement of speculation and gambling. A sudden collapse brought about the ruin of thousands of credulous and avaricious persons; at the same time that a similar calamity befell the gullible victims of the South Sea Bubble in England.

The French movements in Canada were always viewed with dislike by the English settlers in New England and in Virginia. The feeling was intensified when the French aimed to establish a connection between the territories in the basins of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi by the great intermediate lakes and waters lying to the West of the British possessions. They had

penetrated by the middle of the century as far as the River Ohio, from the undefined region South and South-West, known as Louisiana, named after Louis XIV., which, however, could not be regarded as being even sparsely settled. There were hundreds of thousands of the aborigines, vaguely but incorrectly called North American Indians, and divided into great opposing tribes, who roamed over the pathless tracks which formed their hunting and fishing grounds ; but they were not taken into account by the ruling powers at St. James's or at Versailles, excepting when it was convenient to employ their tomahawks and scalping-knives, in return for rum, gunpowder, blankets, tools, and cheap finery. Local collisions had frequently occurred between the French and the English in Canada long before Sir James Wolfe was sent in 1759 to lay siege to Quebec, where both he and the Marquis de Montcalm, the French commander, heroically fell ; as is commemorated on the monument erected in their joint honour. Though Wolfe was slain, "he fell upon the lap of smiling victory" ; and his achievement led to the surrender of the whole territory to England, by the Treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763. Provision was made for a continuance of the laws, the usages, and the religion of the French residents. England took a leading place among European peoples. She had already given birth to two nations, in America and in India ; destined to become mighty empires, such as the world had never seen. She was also destined, ere long, to call into being other settlements, in Africa and in Australia ; constituting, with older and later dependencies, a Greater Britain on which the sun never sets. Nor are the political and the commercial results of the colonizing enterprise the most brilliant and important. Seeds of liberty have been planted in distant continents and islands, where patriotism, freedom, and self-government are cherished as a priceless heritage.

About the same time that Canada was acquired by England, the district of Louisiana was ceded to Spain, in whose nominal possession it remained until ceded back to France under Napoleon, in 1800. In his famous series of 'Leather-Stocking Tales,' such as 'The Deerslayer, 'The Pathfinder,' and 'The Pioneers,' Fenimore Cooper has

given highly-coloured vignettes of the fight for supremacy in America. Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, which had been a constant menace to the English, was captured in 1753, and the name changed to Pittsburg by the grateful colonists, in honour of the great Minister who rolled back the tide of French conquest, and revealed possibilities that led to the opening up of the vast Western territories. The cessation of French rule in Canada had important bearings on the struggle for American Independence that broke out within three years. England also acquired certain islands in the West Indies, and the Balearic Isles, including Minorca, in the Mediterranean, which had been captured by the French in 1756. The failure to prevent this, against an overwhelming force, led to the trial of Admiral John Byng (1704–1757), by court-martial, for alleged cowardice, and he was shot. The charge was alike false and absurd, and his memory was fully vindicated, to the disgrace of the Devonshire Ministry, who sacrificed him to popular clamour in order to cover their own ineptitude. The only analogous case was that of Lord Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald (1775–1860), the victim of a malignant political persecution, which lost to the country for sixteen years the services of a brilliant, daring, and able naval commander, and inflicted upon him an undeserved stigma. In the midst of the stirring events in India and in Canada, and of the political complications in Europe arising out of the Coalitions of France, Austria, and Russia against Hanover and Prussia, which led to the Seven Years' War, George II. died October 22, 1760, and was succeeded by his grandson.

In a general sense, this reign may be said to close the Constitutional Period that was initiated by the Bill of Rights; although during the time of Queen Anne and of the first two Georges, attempts were made to infringe that great settlement. Circumstances led to a dark and disgraceful Period of Repression.

Period XIII.—REPRESSION.

A.D. 1760–1820.

Chapter.

70.—Renewed Attempts at Personal Rule.
71.—American Declaration of Independence.
72.—India and the Colonies.
73.—The Arts, Literature, and Science.
74.—The French Revolution.
75.—The Great War with France.
76.—Fiscal Burdens and the Act of Union.
77.—Repressive Measures in England.

CHAPTER LXX.

RENEWED ATTEMPTS AT PERSONAL RULE.

A.D. 1760–1782.

EXPRESSED in concise terms, the long reign of George III. comprised sixty years of blundering, injustice, and repression. Of his dulness and obstinacy; his narrow notions of the coronation oath; his exaggerated ideas of prerogative; and his ludicrous but mischievous attempts at personal rule, much has been written. His persistent endeavours to establish an impossible autocracy render it needful to furnish some details, because of their bearing upon English liberties. Cowper's delineation of the regal character, in the Fifth Book of 'The Task,' published in 1785, was from the life of George III., interpreted by contraries. Charity prompts the conjecture that he must have been insane long before the period certified by his physicians, and acted upon by the Legislature. Like most persons similarly afflicted, he had much secretiveness, was morbidly suspicious, and formed strong and unreasoning dislikes. Buckle says he was least mischievous when most incapable. Like most obstinate men, he did not hold his opinions, but was held by them. His correspondence with Lord North shows the littleness and the doggedness of his efforts to govern by his personal will. When the Royal Marriage Bill, giving him absurd and dangerous powers over the matrimonial arrangements of his family, was pending in the House of Lords, in February, 1772, he wrote,—"I expect every nerve to be strained to carry the Bill . . . and I shall remember defaulters." The measure was forced through, because one of his brothers, after a loose life, had contracted a distasteful marriage. The consequences of the Act are set forth in Massey's 'History of George III.' In another letter on the subject he wished for a list of the peers who voted, in order that he might openly show his displeasure at the Drawing Room towards those who abstained, or who "deserted to the minority." He intervened in 1783 for the purpose of defeating in the House of Lords a Bill for the better

government of India, which Fox and Burke, as members of the Coalition Ministry, had carried through the Commons; declaring that whoever supported it would be considered as his enemy. Many similar letters exist, all of them faulty in grammar and autocratic in tone. His education had been shamefully neglected, and he never tried to repair the loss. Despotic notions had been instilled into him by his mother, Augusta of Saxe-Coburg, who kept him in leading-strings, and continually urged him to be a king, in the sense of absolutism. According to those who knew him best, he was ignorant, narrow, and mulish. He thought everything good that was old, and everything right that was established. Whoever differed from him was disloyal and a reprobate. He delighted to exalt mediocrity, provided it was pliable and obsequious. It was a Golden Age for the Sir Pertinax Macsycophants, when North and Addington could be lauded as statesmen; a Beattie pensioned as a philosopher; a Pye chosen as poet-laureate; a Louis Dutens as historiographer; a Wyatt as architect; and Capability Brown as the prim regulator of Nature.

George III. constantly interfered with Parliamentary elections, in order to secure the return of members who would carry out his wishes. He began the practice with the initial Parliament of his reign, and never abandoned it. He closely watched the division lists to see who voted on measures which he chose to regard as personal. Admonitions, threats, promises, titles, offices, sinecures, lucrative contracts, and other substantial rewards were directly administered, as he judged needful, to the wavering, in order to fix them; to opponents, if they could be won over; and to "the King's friends," to encourage them. The Crown patronage was rigidly kept under his control. Bribes were profusely scattered in the gross form of bank-notes and guineas among expectant parasites. He wrote letters with his own hand, to accompany "boxes of gold pills," as he termed them, with plain hints that "the prescription" might be repeated as a reward for subserviency. The House of Lords was doubled in numbers, and its character underwent a process of deterioration. Thirty dubious elevations occurred under North's Ministry. The younger

Pitt was responsible for one hundred and forty, some of whom, as John Rolle declared in the House of Commons, were not fit to be his grooms. They owed their titles to party usefulness or unscrupulousness. Every Liberal sentiment, and the bare suggestion of remedies for flagrant abuses, were abominations in the King's eyes. He hated such men as the elder Pitt, Burke, and Fox, as much from dread of their ability as because he disliked their political principles. When Pitt modified his opinions, and when Burke abandoned his, then, but not till then, were they admitted to favour. What Burke said, in one of his great speeches on American taxation, April 19, 1774, accurately described an attitude which it is to be regretted he ever saw fit to change :—"I know the map of England as well as the noble lord (North), or any other person ; and I know that the way I take is not the road to preferment." It is not true, in the case of Fox, as is sometimes alleged, that the King's leaden regard for the proprieties of life was shocked by his private character. The much more scandalous orgies of the titled blackguards who dubbed themselves the Franciscans, at Medmenham Abbey, did not prevent their appointment to the highest offices.

The disastrous and needless contest with America, as the result of which the United States won their independence and England lost her fairest Colonies, was always called the King's War. "Stiff in opinion, always in the wrong," he forced it on, and was the last to yield. The royal income, derived from the swollen Civil List ; from the Duchy of Lancaster ; from the Duchy of Cornwall during the minority of the Prince of Wales ; from the Admiralty droits ; from American quit-rents, and from other sources, exceeded a million per annum, exclusive of the Hanover revenues, and the income of the Bishopric of Osnaburg. In addition, the hereditary revenues of Ireland amounted to three hundred thousand pounds. The Irish pension-list was a mystery of iniquity that furnished additional secret means of providing for a crowd of rapacious courtiers. No accounts were rendered of these various disbursements, or of revenues and grants from Crown lands, because they were supposed to be at his personal disposal. Vast debts were contracted from

time to time, amounting in all, during the reign, to three millions and a half, which corrupt Parliaments paid, because much of the money was squandered among the members and their dependents. Copious streams of royal bounty were made to flow in judicious channels, in order to promote the authority of the Crown, as distinct from Ministerial responsibility and from the control of Parliament, as Burke clearly showed in 1770, in his 'Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents.' Besides this swollen outlay, the numerous royal progeny received lucrative appointments in the Army and Navy, and other rich sinecures, in addition to large allowances, amounting in all to three hundred thousand pounds yearly. Yet, with the solitary and honourable exception of the Duke of Sussex (1773–1843), the grace'ess and useless sons of George III. were always embarrassed, and were constantly applying as mendicants to Parliament. A common remark was—"This is the cheapest family to see, and the dearest to keep." The Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., received between 1783, when he came of age, and 1810, special grants amounting to a million and a half, chiefly for gambling and other disgraceful debts ; in addition to an annual allowance that reached at length one hundred and twenty thousand.

A faithful few in the Legislature had the courage to protest. The House of Commons resolved itself into a Committee, April 6, 1780, to consider petitions from Yorkshire and other places on Economical Reform. A motion by John Dunning, member for Calne, was carried by a majority of eighteen, in spite of strenuous resistance by the Court faction :—"That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The House also reaffirmed its right to control the Civil List expenditure. Four days later, Dunning carried another motion, but only by a majority of two, that certain Court functionaries, so long as they held office, should be excluded from the House. Alarm was taken. Covert measures were devised to defeat two Bills designed to carry the resolutions into effect. All the corrupt machinery was at once set to work to neutralize the former votes, and with success. The great influence and authority of Fox, as leader of the

Opposition, could only secure a hearing with difficulty. The Government used promises and threats to induce certain members to vote, brought up military and naval members from distant stations, and ordered all the Court underlings to be in their places. Fox indignantly taunted the turncoats with their inconsistency and venality. Burke once more brought in a Bill for the abolition of certain useless and costly offices and pensions; but it was rejected. Then came the "No Popery Riots," provoked under the fanatical leadership of Lord George Gordon, followed, on the eighth of July, by a Dissolution and a General Election. As usual, Court influence was exerted, openly and unscrupulously, and the effect was seen when the new Parliament met in October. The same influence was employed to defeat Burke's Bill for the reform of Civil Establishments, introduced in February, 1781. It was in support of this that the younger Pitt made his maiden speech. He was then a nominal Whig and a Reformer. Ere long, he saw fit to renounce the opinions of his youth, betraying first, and then persecuting, his early political friends, falsifying every promise, and violating every engagement.

Two reasons explain why this state of things was so long tolerated. The first is that, in his personal character and habits, George III. was an embodiment of stolid, humdrum respectability, and of the ignorance and prejudice of a large number of people. He was not a drunkard, a libertine, or a gambler. No scandals attached to him. It is confidently asserted that he secretly married Hannah Lightfoot, a beautiful and intelligent young Quakeress, but was made to repudiate her by his mother, in order to strengthen the German connection by a politic union with Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1744-1818). From prudential reasons, he dieted himself with Spartan severity. It was a standing joke to be offered a draught of his favourite beverage of barley-water at night. His domestic life was decorous, if dull almost to dreariness, and of the order that fascinates Mrs. Grundy in every age. Frances Burney (1752-1840), afterwards Madame D'Arblay, has revealed in her 'Diary and Letters' the wearisome monotony and littleness of the Court; its petty in-

trigues and spiteful jealousies; its inane gossip and mental deadness. These dreary pursuits, as an attendant upon the Queen, wasted five of the best years of the life of the gifted authoress of 'Evelina' and 'Cecilia,' and arrested for ever the course of her genius. George and his wife spent a kind of Darby and Joan existence. Walking on the slopes at Windsor, or during rural rides, they nodded to the people and chatted with them about their domestic concerns, winning a cheap popularity because of this, and because they ate a plain dinner at one o'clock, took a nap afterwards, did nothing particular in the evening, and went to bed at ten, unless there was a State concert or attendance at the theatre. Their familiar cognomen was Farmer George and his Wife, and the caricaturists depict them in every variety of grotesque attire and surroundings. The King went regularly to church; used a large and handsome Prayer Book; joined in a loud German voice in the responses; commented audibly on the sermon, when he was awake; insisted on the prelates wearing wigs; and hated Dissent, and all independent thought or action, as subversive of authority. This made up his idea of Churchmanship, and was the sum of his religion. In private life, he would have been a stupid, testy, impulsive, overbearing, but, on the whole, good-natured squire, like Sir Anthony Absolute. As a sovereign, he was an anachronism and a blunder. "Stranger irony of fate," remarks Leslie Stephen, "can hardly be imagined than that which placed this stupidest of rulers at the head of a great people during one of its most trying crises; as if to show how much mischief can be worked by wrong-headed honesty, and how little the mischief wrought by a ruler can affect loyalty."

The other reason is that with the lapse of years, and under the influence of corrupt Ministers, the House of Commons had sunk into an assembly of placemen and time-servers, who perceived that the favour of the people was not so sure and pleasant a road as the favour of the Court. Sinecure offices, such as the turnspit of the royal kitchen, or the cofferer of the household, or the great patent offices in the Exchequer, with enormous salaries and fees, but with no duties, were bestowed on condition of Parliamentary support. In his famous speech on Civil

Establishments, Burke satirically described the archaic titles, the useless or nominal functions, and the monstrous salaries attaching to numerous offices, "with their mock jurisdictions and laborious fooleries." The emoluments were the price of corruption in the House of Commons, and the occupants defended every abuse, lest their own should be attacked. They also were able to recommend the corrupt and rapacious electors and their connections for lucrative posts, and to obtain for them numerous exemptions, indemnities, and advantages, while the independent and non-official members had nothing to offer. Robert Hall, in his 'Apology for the Freedom of the Press and for General Liberty,' published in 1793, characterized the tribe of placemen and pensioners as "a noxious spawn, engendered by the corruptions of government, and nourished by its diseases." Many members were direct nominees of the Crown, or of the close Municipal Corporations created in Stuart times. The electoral reforms of the Commonwealth were cancelled at the Restoration. No attempt had since been made to adjust the constituencies to the shiftings of the population, of trade, or of wealth. Growing mercantile towns, like Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, were unrepresented, while many pocket-boroughs, with a score or fewer puppet-electors, and places that existed only in name, without an inhabitant, like Gatton or Old Sarum, returned two members at the behest of the patrons. England and Wales, with an estimated population of eight millions, had only a hundred and sixty thousand electors, or one in fifty. The proportion settled by the Redistribution Act of 1885 was one in seven. In Scotland, thirty county members were returned by fewer than two thousand voters, and the fifteen borough members by self-appointed Town Councils. All of them, like most of the English Corporations, were under Government influence, directly and unblushingly used by means of patronage and bribes. So late as May, 1831, the Town Council of Edinburgh rejected Francis Jeffrey, though he was supported by a petition from seventeen thousand of the principal inhabitants, and chose as Member of Parliament an unknown and obscure man.

So vast was the Crown influence and that of private patrons, that for the Parliament of 1761, the first of the reign, contests occurred only in Durham and in Herts, of all the counties; in sixteen boroughs in England, and in none in Wales or Scotland. A similar condition of things prevailed at subsequent elections. In some places, there were no contests during the century, owing to the ruinous expense, or to the overwhelming power of patrons. A petition of the Society of the Friends of the People, in 1793, stated that eighty-four persons sent one hundred and fifty-seven members; and that one hundred and fifty more were returned, not by the votes of those whom they were supposed to represent, but on the recommendation of seventy powerful individuals. Thus more than one-half of the members were chosen by private influence. Six peers had forty-five nominees in the Lower House, and other lords had one or more members returned in their interest. Fifty-six had constituencies of less than thirty-eight each. Seats were openly bought and sold, and there were recognised brokers for the purpose. Thinly-veiled advertisements appeared in connection with the traffic, and the price ranged from £2500 to £6000 for a single contest. Gatton, in Surrey, was sold in 1774, in perpetuity, for £75,000. Seats were treated as private property, and the nominees rarely went through the form of appearing on the hustings. Wealthy officials returned from India bought seats to give them social position, or to secure favour and titles at Court; or to promote the interests of the East India Company. They are satirized in Samuel Foote's farce of 'The Nabob'; the character of Touchit, and the doings in the borough of Bribe'em, being derived from the notorious practices at Shoreham, in Sussex, one of the most corrupt electorates. Burke denounced them in his speech December 1, 1783, on Fox's India Bill. Chatham said that they "forced their way into Parliament by such a torrent of corruption as no hereditary fortune could resist." His son exclaimed, in one of his Reform outbursts:—"This House is not the representative of the people, but of nominal boroughs, of ruined and exterminated towns, of wealthy individuals, of foreign potentates."

Incredible sums were spent in some contests, mainly in open and unblushing bribery. Venal electors demanded what they regarded as their birthright, in the full market prices for their votes. The great contest for Westmoreland and Cumberland, in 1768, cost each side forty thousand pounds; and that for Yorkshire, in 1807, more than one hundred thousand each. Families were straitened for generations, if not ruined, by such reckless outlay. Repeated protests were made by the patriotic few, but the evils continued and became intensified down to the Reform Bill of 1832, and were not effectually checked until the passing of the Corrupt Practices Act, fifty years later. Occasionally, the House of Commons affected a show of virtue, as in the egregious farce performed in 1783, when the Mayor and Aldermen of Oxford were called to the bar, and sent to Newgate, for proposing a sum to be paid by the sitting members as a condition for being again chosen. Every one knew that the procedure was a mockery, that the offenders chanced to be found out in doing clumsily what hundreds did with impunity, and that the covert but notorious design was to beat down the price of borough-jobbing in view of a General Election. 'Vathek' Beckford, of Fonthill Abbey notoriety, introduced a Bill to check bribery and corruption, but had to withdraw it. Benjamin Franklin, who was in London at the time, from Philadelphia, wrote:—"This whole venal nation is now at market, and will be sold for about two millions, and might be bought out of the hands of the present bidders by the devil himself, if he would offer half a million more."

The long rule of the Whigs came to an end in 1762. Their political opponents were installed, and retained office in an almost unbroken line for half a century. The Earl of Bute became Prime Minister, a dull, self-seeking Scot, who had been governor to George III. during his minority, and was supposed to be a favourite with his mother, ridiculed by the caricaturists under the guise of a jack-boot surmounted by a petticoat. In point of intellectual capacity he was on a par with the King. Dr. Johnson, in spite of his own Toryism, said that Bute meant well, but that his blood was full of prerogative, and that he thought the country could be governed

solely by Crown influence. The inefficient Cabinet fell in April, 1763, but he nominated like-minded successors in George Grenville and the Earl of Halifax. Chief among Bute's numerous assailants was the notorious John Wilkes (1727–1797), then member for Aylesbury; a man of great ability and fascinating manners; of transcendent wit and boundless impudence; devoid of principle and abandoned in character. His associate was Charles Churchill (1731–1764), author of 'The Rosciad,' a keen satire on theatrical managers and actors. Byron said that he "blazed the comet of a season." He was a renegade clergyman, of much cleverness, but of greater profligacy even than Wilkes. His pen was most potent when dipped in gall. He lampooned Warburton, and roared out full-mouthed abuse of bishops in general. His one redeeming feature was that he flung aside his cassock, and would not pose as a hypocrite. Hogarth has left an undying memorial of Wilkes in a famous print of him, crowned with a cap of liberty. This striking portrait, scarcely exaggerating his atrocious squint, was provoked by one of the political wrangles of the time. Churchill came to the rescue of his friend, in a virulent 'Epistle' addressed to Hogarth, who retaliated in a portrait of Churchill as a bear, hugging a foaming tankard of porter, his favourite beverage. But Hogarth is said never to have rallied from the effects of the satire.

Wilkes and Churchill issued the 'North Briton,' which bears the palm for scurrility and malevolence. The forty-fifth number appeared in April, 1763, and contained a severe criticism upon the royal speech at the opening of Parliament, with a violent attack upon Bute. "Number Forty-five" became a popular catchword, chalked on doors and windows, and shouted in the streets. The Government was indiscreet enough to commence a prosecution, which not only gave Wilkes the notoriety he coveted, but, incidentally, raised an important constitutional question. A General Warrant, laid without specific names or charges, was issued against the author, printers, and publishers of the obnoxious article. The House of Commons also voted it a scandalous and seditious libel, ordered it to be burned, and expelled Wilkes. He afterwards instituted proceedings

against Halifax, Secretary of State, who had signed the warrant, and obtained four thousand pounds damages. In summing up, Chief Justice Pratt (1713–1794) declared the warrant illegal. This great judge became Lord Chancellor Camden; but resigned in 1770, because he could not defend the action of the Cabinet on the American question, and on the exclusion of Wilkes when duly elected to the House of Commons. His ruling in the case of Wilkes, and also the verdict of the jury, were confirmed by Lord Mansfield when a Bill of Exceptions was tendered. The legality of General Warrants was keenly debated in the House of Commons, where the Ministry secured a majority of only fourteen. The King instantly resorted to his usual practice. Among the minority were Generals Conway and à Court. They were deprived of the colonelcies of their regiments. The royal resentment was displayed towards other members holding military and civil offices, for having presumed to vote contrary to his wishes. Because the Bishop of Lincoln voted in 1773 for a measure of toleration, the King said,—"Green shall never be translated"; nor was he. This method of intimidation was carried to such excess that a writer in the 'Royal Magazine,' February, 1766, calculated that since Legge had thus been dismissed from the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, in May, 1761, no fewer than five hundred and twenty-three changes had occurred for political reasons. The same policy was pursued throughout the reign.

Wilkes was next prosecuted in the King's Bench for criminal libel, and for an alleged obscene publication; privately printed, but never issued. He was found guilty; and was outlawed in November, 1764, for failing to appear. The doctrine then laid down from the Bench, following a long succession of judges, was that the sole duty of a jury was to determine the fact of publication, the decision as to whether it was a libel resting with the judge. As Junius truly said,—"In other criminal prosecutions, the malice of the design is confessedly as much a subject of consideration to a jury as the certainty of the fact." Lord Camden was the only occupant of the Bench who strenuously and persistently maintained that the whole matter rested with the jury.

He lived to witness the triumphant establishment of his doctrine; for, in 1792, Erskine's declaratory Act was passed, affirming that Camden's version of the law was, and always had been, correct, and that it is the right of the jury to take into account the character and tendency of the publication. Prior to this, such illustrious judges as Holt and Mansfield, both of them regarded as upholders of civil liberty, refused to admit evidence tending to show that alleged libels were true; and the outrageous practice was continued by some judges in spite of the above Act. Hence, "the greater the truth the greater the libel," became a maxim of judge-made law. Wilkes returned from France four years after his outlawry; was arrested under the old conviction, fined one thousand pounds, imprisoned for twenty-two months, and ordered to find sureties for seven years. Meanwhile, he was elected to represent Middlesex in the House of Commons; and that body, claiming a dispensing power as indefensible as that of the Stuarts, declared him disqualified, and issued a new writ. This led to another struggle, involving grave constitutional questions, and giving Wilkes an importance wholly undeserved by his worthless character.

Thrice was he chosen by the electors of Middlesex, and thrice did the House refuse to accept the return to the writ; in the last instance, May 9, 1769, substituting another name, and thus virtually disfranchising a large and an important constituency. Burke boldly stigmatized it as "a hardy attempt by the corps calling itself the King's friends to alter the right of election, without any rule but their own pleasure." However, in 1774, Wilkes was allowed to take his seat in the new Parliament; and in 1781 the records against him on the Journals were expunged, "as subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom." Wilkes had then been Lord Mayor of London. He was chosen alderman during his imprisonment; received large gifts, testimonials, and legacies; and was the idol of the mob. He obtained the lucrative office of City Chamberlain, which he filled until his death. But his political career and his popular influence ended with his release from prison. He was an unprincipled adventurer, as well as

a shameless debauchee ; but he was never a Wilkesite, as he told the King in after days, when he had gained his personal objects, and made his peace with the Court. A later House of Commons pursued a similar unconstitutional course from 1880 to 1885, in repeatedly excluding—once, under circumstances of brutal and disgraceful personal violence—Charles Bradlaugh, member for Northampton, on the question of making an affirmation, or of taking the oath, thereby setting aside the choice of his constituents, and disfranchising them for a lengthened period. It is a painful and a humiliating story, ending like the former case. Bradlaugh took his seat after the General Election of November, 1885 ; and while he lay dying, in January, 1891, at the age of fifty-eight, worn out by manifold public labours and by the hardships of his early career, a resolution was passed, cancelling the records of his former exclusions.

The excitement caused by the Wilkes episodes led to the holding of public meetings for the discussion of political topics, the origin of modern platform agitation. Its history is given in Paterson's 'Liberty of the Press, Speech, and Worship,' and in Jephson's 'Rise and Progress of the Platform.' The day after the House finally rejected Wilkes, a great meeting of Middlesex freeholders was held at Mile End, to consider the proper measures to be adopted for maintaining their rights and privileges. Other meetings were convened ; and the example was speedily followed in various towns and counties. The method was not forgotten. Five years later, the Society of Supporters of the Bill of Rights was founded. In 1780, under the pressure of severe taxation, this safety-valve for public opinion was employed with much effect ; Fox and other public leaders appearing on the platform in London and Westminster. Its use, in the growing demand for Parliamentary Reform at the time of the great War with France, led to the passing of an Act in 1795, whereby all meetings were suppressed, under the specious plea of sedition. Some beneficial changes, however, were incidentally effected in Parliamentary procedure. In 1770, the method of deciding disputed elections by a strict party vote of the whole House was abandoned in favour of a committee of fifteen, chosen

by ballot, and sworn to decide according to the evidence. In the same year, the immunity of members' servants from arrest on civil suits was abolished: an important step towards securing the universal supremacy of law. The antiquated and illegal usage was allowed to fall into desuetude, whereby the personal and private wrongs or complaints of members were arbitrarily punished as if done to the House; and the ridiculous custom of compelling all persons to receive its censures on their knees at the bar was ended by a Standing Order in 1772. Richard Brinsley Sheridan brought this practice into contempt by dusting his knees on one occasion, and audibly remarking that it was the dirtiest place he had ever entered.

During the Wilkes controversy, the celebrated 'Letters of Junius' appeared, from 1769 to 1772, in William Woodfall's 'Public Advertiser.' They freely criticised the King and the leading statesmen of the day, whose ineptitude was boldly denounced. The Prime Minister, the Duke of Grafton, was chiefly singled out for attack. The portrayal of his character and policy, bitten into the public memory by the caustic acid of this invisible but dreaded censor, has never been obliterated. Grafton owes such dubious immortality as he possesses solely to the audacious sarcasm of Junius. It was the same with other prominent men. Not only their official acts and speeches, but their personal appearance, their style of address, their mannerisms, their past career, their follies, peccadilloes, and crimes, and their private habits, were treated with a bold freedom unequalled before or since; often degenerating into infamous falsehoods, or coarse and acrimonious abuse. Of the talent of these productions there can be no question; but they were rancorous in the extreme. If the hatred sprang from detestation of injustice and contempt for incapacity, which is more than doubtful, it was intensified by personal animosity and party spirit. The terrible invective suggests personal ill-will, more than virtuous indignation or patriotism. Lecky says,—"The malignity of Junius was truly fiendish; and it was utterly uncurbed by any restraint of truth, or decency, or honour." That such scurrility should have become popular is a disgraceful

reflection upon the spirit and manners of the age. The style, though occasionally stiff and formal, often rises to lofty eloquence, and is always remarkable for closeness of argument, felicity of illustration, brilliant epigram, and intimate political and official knowledge. The printers and publishers were indicted for libel; but the jury would not convict. The 'Letters' owe much of their renown to the mystery of their authorship. All attempts to discover it were vain. Burke was suspected; but the style is not his, and he disclaimed all knowledge or responsibility. Macaulay thinks the circumstantial evidence confirms the general opinion that the author was Sir Philip Francis, who received a lucrative appointment in India; the price of silence, as was commonly supposed. But the controversy threatens to be endless. It has a fascination for some minds, proportionate to the difficulty of arriving at certitude. Another satirical writer of the time was Peter Pindar, a pseudonym for Dr. John Wolcot (1738–1819), who, having failed as a physician and a clergyman, devoted himself to writing audacious squibs in verse on all sorts of persons, from the King downwards. Unscrupulous, impudent, and coarse, Pindar was a master of burlesque humour and caricature, and excelled in producing ludicrous metaphors in a vigorous and idiomatic style.

CHAPTER LXXI.

AMERICAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

A.D. 1760–1782.

THE Seven Years' War waged by Frederick II. of Prussia against Austria, Russia, and France, and involving England through India and America, was terminated by the Treaty of Paris in February, 1763. The secret Family Pact was frustrated, whereby the crowned heads of the House of Bourbon—as selfish, absolutist, and degraded as the Stuarts—bound themselves to put an end to British maritime supremacy. In return for a

hoped-for recovery of Gibraltar, Spain had undertaken to help France in obtaining control over North America. Nothing came of it; for Canada was lost to France, and India was secured to England, though the Pact was not finally broken up until the Revolution of 1789 compelled the potentates to struggle for life. The rapid growth of Colonial trade, as the result of the acquisitions of territory, is shown by the Customs' entries of 1761, which give the total Exports at fourteen millions and a half, and the Imports at nine and a quarter; whereas, in 1754, they were eleven and three quarters and eight millions respectively. But the immediate financial result to England was the nearly trebling of her National Debt, which stood at £52,092,238 in 1727, and was swollen to £138,805,430 by 1763. That amount was again nearly doubled between 1775 and 1784 by the American War, which cost one hundred and twenty-one millions more. It was a war of pride and oppression, ending in humiliation and disgrace. The American Colonies had greatly extended in area, in population, and in wealth since the beginning of the seventeenth century. At the accession of George III., they contained two millions of people, besides half a million of negro slaves, distributed among the settlements mentioned in the fiftieth Chapter, and mainly occupied in the profitable employments of cultivating the rice-fields, the tobacco plantations, and indigo. Just as thousands of Puritans and Separatists found shelter in New England under the first and second Stuarts, many Cavaliers emigrated to Virginia during the Commonwealth. Charles II., with the lavish grants of territory that sprung from the prevalent ignorance of geography, gave to his cousin, Prince Rupert, and others, in 1670, that vast domain in the North-West which ultimately became the exclusive monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company, or, as it was long called, Prince Rupert's Land. South Carolina, named after the same monarch, was settled, in part, in 1663, by a proprietary English Chartered Company. North Carolina was an offshoot from Virginia, in 1653. Georgia was founded so late as 1732 by General Oglethorpe, and was named after the reigning King of England. All these settlements were dependencies, rather than colonies in the true

Hellenistic or Roman sense. Each regulated its own internal affairs, subject to the more or less vague terms of its Charter, and with a dim sense of allegiance to the British sovereign; involving difficulties and troubles that were certain, sooner or later, to reach a crisis. The territory loosely assigned to each by royal grant, in the spirit of an outworn feudalism, was comprised within a comparatively narrow area, sparsely peopled, separated from its neighbours by dense forests and deep rivers, and skirting hundreds of miles of unknown coast along the Atlantic; but extending illimitably towards the unexplored West. The enormous regions now partitioned among the Middle and the Western States of America were never traversed, save by an occasional white man, whose chances of escape from roving Indians were precarious.

The governors of the Crown Colonies were appointed by the home authorities; not, as Junius said, that they needed governors, but that the Court favourites wanted salaries. Local affairs were regulated by Assemblies chosen by the Colonists. These were by no means of pure English descent, for they included large numbers of Dutch lineage, of French Huguenots, and of Germans driven out of the Palatinate by Louis XIV. Many thousands of the Scotch settlers in Ulster had crossed the Atlantic, and founded new homes in Pennsylvania and the South; being forced to do this by the ruin of the woollen trade in 1698, as the result of the selfishness of English manufacturers, by the operation of the Test Act of 1704 against Irish Nonconformists, and by wholesale evictions of farmers who were rack-rented on their own improvements. Being Presbyterians, they were not attracted to the New England Colonies, where Congregationalism was dominant. It was largely through these Scottish and German immigrations that the population of Pennsylvania rose from twenty thousand, in 1701, to twelve times that number in 1749. By the time of the American Revolution it had increased to three hundred and fifty thousand, one third being Scotch-Irish. Flocking also into Western Virginia, they formed almost its entire population. It was the same in large districts of the Carolinas. Kentucky was, substantially, settled by them at a later date, as was Tennessee. Next to the

Pilgrim Fathers and the Puritans, they contributed to form the moral character of the United States. The type appears, in recent times, in Henry Clay of Virginia, author of the famous Missouri Compromise; in John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; and in General "Stonewall" Jackson, the right arm of the Confederates in the Civil War of 1861, a deeply religious, earnest, valorous, and determined man. Driven from their own land by intolerance, by trade jealousy, and by agrarian injustice, they hated English institutions, both civil and ecclesiastical, with a bitterness elsewhere unknown, to which the Revolution gave vent. Of the fifty-six historic signers of the famous Declaration of Independence, one-fourth are said to have been Scotch-Irish by descent.

For more than a century the Colonies had been left to themselves, unless paramount home interests and monopolies were in danger, or money was wanted, or some of the insatiable crowd of courtiers and officials turned hungry eyes across the Atlantic. The Duke of Newcastle, when a member of the Cabinet under Walpole, had a closet full of American despatches that remained unopened for years. Burke ironically described this as treating the Colonies with salutary neglect; and it led to the paradoxical saying that George Grenville (1712–1770) lost America because he was foolish enough to read and answer the despatches. It may be admitted now that a severance from the mother-country was inevitable, and was only a question of time. The regret remains that it was not affected amicably. England had expended scarcely anything upon them. She did nothing for their defence, beyond maintaining a few regiments, in scattered companies, at widely separated points. In almost every war with the Indians, the brunt was borne by the local militia, whose services were also demanded in the incessant conflicts with the French in Canada. The relations with the Home Government became strained, owing to unwise and unjust restrictions attempted to be placed upon the settlers. They were not allowed to send their products anywhere but to Great Britain, whence also supplies of many necessary articles had to be compulsorily brought, subject to heavy duties. Ireland and the Continent were expressly excluded from trade. No foreign

ship might enter American harbours. Raw wool, woollen fabrics, beaver hats, and other things that could easily be produced, might not be carried from one province to another, lest the home trade might be injured. Burke remarks :—"A teasing Custom House, and a multiplicity of perplexing regulations, ever appear the masterpiece of finance to people of narrow views." Frequent complaints were made, but no redress could be secured. Such were the real causes of the strife between the American Colonies and the mother-country. A feeling of irritation needed only an occasion to develop into open resistance.

A proposal had been made during the preceding reign to increase the revenue by levying direct taxes in America. Walpole would not sanction it. He saw the danger of attempting to tax a people three thousand miles distant, who were unrepresented in Parliament, and for purposes in which they could not share. What he refused to do, because it was alike illegal, unsafe, and inexpedient, inferior men undertook with light hearts, because they said it was technically lawful. In 1764, Grenville, narrow, pedantic, and overbearing, submitted to the House of Commons a motion to charge certain Stamp Duties in America, for purposes of defence against expected attacks by the French, to the extent of about one hundred thousand pounds per annum. In itself, the proposal was fair; and, with proper methods, it might have been carried out. Coming in the train of a long series of mistakes, it was certain to fail. As soon as the news crossed the Atlantic, memorials and representatives were sent to England in protest. Among the agents, the most celebrated was Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), a memorable product of colonial civilization, a shrewd printer and experimental philosopher from Pennsylvania, the original of the homely wisdom and practical morality of 'Poor Richard,' and one of the earliest investigators of the phenomena of electricity. In spite of all remonstrances, and in a spirit that rejected every compromise, such as moderate and sagacious statesmanship prompted, the scheme became law. Without these stamps, sales, mortgages, notes of hand, marriages, inheritances, and law-suits were to be invalid. Determined resistance was

manifested by the Colonial Assemblies, in which a fierce spirit of liberty had grown up during more than a century of virtual self-government. When the obnoxious stamps arrived, they were seized and destroyed, in some cases; and, in others, the distributors dared not act.

The elder Pitt, emerging early in 1766 from a year's retirement and silence, vindicated the course taken by the Colonists, and scouted the plea that they were virtually represented. That great jurist, Lord Camden, afterwards maintained in the House of Lords the sound principle that taxation and representation are inseparable. The Stamp Act was repealed in March by the Rockingham Ministry, simply because it was found impossible of enforcement. At the same time, its rightfulness and legality were affirmed, in a futile attempt to cover a forced retreat. The King dismissed the Cabinet in July. There had been in six years as many new or reconstructed Cabinets, which, as Carlyle says, "vehemently scrambled for the thing they called the Rudder of Government, but which was, in reality, the Spigot of Taxation." Then followed the brief rule of Pitt, who, to the surprise and anger of many, and to the temporary obscuration of his own popularity, accepted the title of Earl of Chatham. He retired in October, 1768, after an inglorious tenure of office, during which he seems to have been at times not responsible for his actions. During one of his prolonged absences, and when inaccessible to his colleagues, Charles Townshend (1725–1767), the brilliant but shallow Chancellor of the Exchequer, commonly styled the Weathercock, vainly hoping to please all parties at home without estranging the Colonists, devised and forced upon the reluctant Cabinet a system of Import Duties on such articles as tea, painters' colours, wine, oil, fruits, glass, and paper, estimated to yield not more than forty thousand pounds a year. He did not live to witness the results of his plan, which, with its author, formed the theme of one of Burke's masterly characterizations in his great speech of 1774 on American Taxation.

It was vainly hoped by Townshend that the Americans would not object to the proposal, instead of which they sent home respectful but firm remonstrances. When Parliament met, the burden of the King's speech was that

faction had broken out afresh among the Colonists, and that some of them had proceeded to acts of violent resistance to the laws, and had adopted measures subversive of the Constitution. They must therefore be punished as turbulent and seditious persons. Not a word was said about inquiring into and redressing alleged grievances. It was assumed that the Colonists had no right to complain of or to resist anything that they were ordered to do or to pay. A musty Statute of Henry VIII. was revived, passed long before the first English settlement in America, and applicable only to Ireland and the Continent, under which accused or suspected persons might be brought home and tried by a Special Commission, without a jury. The governors of the various Colonies were directed to influence the Assemblies, and to dissolve them if they would not yield. Troops were sent out, and billeted upon the people, with orders to use force, if necessary. When the news crossed the Atlantic, decisive action was taken. The House of Representatives of Virginia—the Old Dominion, in which so many proud aristocratic families resided—contained men like George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, George Mason, Richard Bland, John Marshall, James Madison, Peyton and Edmund Randolph, and Patrick Henry, who would not surrender their rights and liberties. The spirit of that Cavalier State had broadened and deepened since 1601, when its Governor, Sir William Berkeley, wrote home,—"I thank God there are no free schools or printing-presses; and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years; for learning has brought heresy, and disobedience, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best Government. God keep us from both!"

The House of Representatives asserted its sole authority to levy taxes; protested against the threatened application of the above obsolete Statute; warned the King of the dangers that would ensue if any Americans were seized and taken to England for trial, and resolved on seeking joint action with the other Colonies in self-defence. The House was instantly dissolved, but its members continued to assemble as individual patriots. Pennsylvania, Dela-

ware, and all the Southern provinces concurred in the action. There were not lacking qualified leaders in the emergency—able, patriotic, and resolute men like those already named, and like John Jay, Robert R. and Philip Livingston, Josiah Quincy, James Bowdoin, John Dickinson, Thomas Johnson, Gouverneur Morris, Fisher Ames, Elbridge Gerry, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and his brother Thomas, Samuel and John Adams, John Hancock, James Otis, and, above all, Alexander Hamilton—murdered in a duel by the infamous Aaron Burr, in 1804—whose influence on American thought and institutions was equalled only by that of Thomas Jefferson. John Jay, eminent as a jurist and a diplomatist, was the first Chief Justice of the United States. Concerning him, Daniel Webster said, in his sonorous, Chatham-like style,—"When the spotless robe of the judicial ermine fell on John Jay, it touched nothing less spotless than itself." It was determined to purchase no articles from England. The home merchants were alarmed for their trade, and they brought the matter before Parliament. A partial and clumsy concession was made, by withdrawing the Import Duties on all articles except tea, estimated to yield only three hundred pounds yearly, maintained "in order to assert the right of taxation." The levy was threepence per pound; but a majority of the people abjured the use of tea, as a protest, and were determined not to pay any taxes, however small or indirect, unless imposed with their consent. "Taxation without representation is tyranny," was the popular motto.

There had been other shufflings of the official cards, and in January, 1770, Lord North (1732–1792) became Prime Minister. Junius made one of his vehement attacks in connection with what is known as the Horned-Cattle Speech, saying that Ministers made the King talk as a half-ruined grazier, rather than as the monarch of a vast empire, because the first and chief item of the royal speech at the opening of the 1770 Session was devoted to the murrain among horned cattle, when questions of enormous interest at home, in Ireland, and in the Colonies demanded attention. North was a man after the King's own heart, especially in his dogged opposition to all reform, and to every popular measure

Easy-tempered and amiable in private life, witty and ready in debate, and personally popular, he carried out the Court wishes for twelve years by means of a venal and compliant majority in the Commons, which he debauched still further by corruption. Gibbon, himself a silent member and a placeman, describes how North slumbered on the Treasury Bench between the two great legal pillars of his Ministry, Thurlow (1732–1806), the Attorney-General, of whom Fox used to say that no one could be so wise as he looked, and Alexander Wedderburn (1733–1805), the Solicitor-General. The latter, after posing as a patriot, and making numerous speeches in defence of liberty, changed political sides in 1771, under circumstances that have rendered his name a by-word for perfidy. He reaped further rewards for his apostasy, with universal contempt superadded, and became Chancellor in 1793, under the title of Lord Loughborough. The King and Lord North, unfortunately, were in entire accord as to the policy to be pursued towards America. The former wrote that he regarded the repeal of the Stamp Act as "a fatal compliance," which had for ever "wounded the majesty" of this country and "planted thorns under his pillow." He was bent upon maintaining absolute authority, and on bringing the "rebels" to submit. On their side, partial success emboldened them to make further demands, as was inevitable.

A crisis came on December 16, 1773. Three vessels, laden with tea, were in Boston harbour. A town's meeting resolved that the cargoes should not be landed. That night, forty or fifty men, disguised as Indians, went on board, and emptied into the water three hundred and forty chests of tea, without inflicting damage on other property. The first thing done when the news reached England was to remove the Custom-House from Boston to Salem, and to forbid the port to be used. Next, the Constitution of Massachusetts was swept away. In future, the Council was to be nominated, instead of elective, and all judges, magistrates, sheriffs, and other officials were to be appointed by the Governor. Impunity was granted by anticipation to the troops, for any acts of violence in enforcing the new order of things. The Earl

of Chatham, who was himself again, protested, as did Burke, in masterly speeches, but in vain. The latter said,—"No one shall persuade me, when a whole people are concerned, that acts of lenity are not means of conciliation"; and he nobly added,—"I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people." On the other side, Dr. Johnson wrote to order his pamphlet, 'Taxation no Tyranny,' and declared that the Colonists were a race of convicts who ought to be thankful for anything short of hanging. Burke's conciliatory resolutions were rejected in 1775 by two hundred and seventy votes to seventy-eight. His uniform action was that of practical expediency. Though precedents existed for the taxation, he deemed it undesirable to assert a power that could not be enforced.

While secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham, the head of a short-lived Ministry, Burke had entered Parliament, in 1766, as member for Wendover. His first speech, on American affairs, drew marked commendations from the elder Pitt, and he attained at a bound to celebrity. His extraordinary gifts and acquirements were divided between politics and literature. It has been said that he was too literary to be a philosopher, and too philosophic to be a politician. His speeches were uttered dissertations, and his pamphlets were elaborate speeches. Yet no one has received or has merited such splendid panegyric, notwithstanding all his faults of style and manner, and though he was the dinner-bell of the House. His influence upon political thinkers has been extensive and abiding, and he may be regarded as the greatest political writer that England has produced. He adorned every subject on which he descanted. His vast and varied intellectual powers; his almost boundless knowledge of literature, the arts, and sciences; his classical lore; his vivid imagination; his untiring industry; his grasp of principles; the cogency of his reasoning; the boldness of his metaphors; the exuberance of his language; and the versatility of his style, stand forth pre-eminent, warranting the high eulogium pronounced by his friend, Dr. Samuel Johnson. Grattan considered him the best talker he had ever known. Goldsmith described him as winding into a subject like a serpent.

Nor was his moral nature dwarfed by his vast intellectual powers. In a loose and corrupt age, he was transparently pure and upright, and his domestic life was without a stain. He never forgot the friends of his youth; and, while struggling himself, he generously aided men like James Barry the painter and George Crabbe the poet, and was always ready to perform acts of unobtrusive beneficence. Adam Smith declared that he knew no other man who, without communication, had thought out the same conclusions in political economy as his own. Robert Hall (1764–1831), the renowned and accomplished Baptist preacher of Leicester, Cambridge, and Bristol, whose attainments well qualified him to be a judge, said of Burke,—"The excursions of his genius are immense. His imperial fancy has laid all Nature under tribute, and has collected riches from every scene of the Creation, and every walk of Art." William Wilberforce bears similar testimony. During his brightest and best years, before the melancholy circumstances that clouded the end of his illustrious life, Burke proved himself to be far in advance of most of his contemporaries, by advocating such measures as the abolition of the laws against forestalling and regrating, the freedom of trade, just concessions to Catholics and to Dissenters, the mitigation of the penal code and of the barbarous laws affecting insolvents, the suppression of the slave-trade, and the introduction of measures of financial and administrative reform. As will be seen in the Chapter treating of the French Revolution in its influence upon England, he had the defects of his qualities, and suffered from them in the arena of practical statesmanship. Fox used to say of him that he was a wise man, but was wise too soon. Speaking in the House of Commons, February 9, 1790, when the unfortunate and final breach was impending, and when Burke renounced the policy and the companionship of his old associates, Fox uttered a noble eulogy that is immortal and classical. Burke was the virtual founder of a new school of politics. He held it to be the duty of a government, not to aim at ideal and impossible perfection, but simply to be guided by the force of circumstances, and to be regulated by the power actually possessed, in acting for the public good.

Without the slightest hesitation, the other Colonies rallied in support of Massachusetts. A Congress of Delegates, representing all the Legislatures, save Georgia, which afterwards joined, assembled in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, and condemned the violation of their rights as Englishmen. This federation came into being in the same way as the Achæan League, or the United Netherlands, or the Swiss Bund. It was agreed to suspend all trade with the mother-country, unless grievances were redressed. The Congress sat until the end of October, and adjourned to meet again in the following May. Virtually, it sat, at intervals, for seven years. Tidings of its action reached England just as Parliament met in November. The opening speech from the throne asserted a resolve "to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of this Legislature over all the dominions of my Crown." Chatham vindicated the Congress for its solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wise conclusions, and urged the immediate withdrawal of the troops from Boston, and the adoption of a conciliatory policy, warning the Government that it was impossible to enforce submission to such violent and oppressive measures. His appeals and remonstrances were in vain. The King styled his utterance "a trumpet of sedition." Only a small minority voted with him in the House of Lords. Almost before the echoes of his speech had died away, or those of another delivered by Burke in the Commons, where tipsy squires and the dumb nominees of borough-mongers derided a genius they were too stupid to comprehend, the boom of the American War of Independence rolled across the Atlantic. Hostilities commenced at Lexington on the nineteenth of April, 1775. Emerson says, in his 'Poem on the Concord Fight,'—"The embattled farmers stood, and fired the shot heard round the world."

Preparations had been made for resistance, if this proved inevitable. Committees of Safety were formed, the local militia enrolled, commanders chosen, and arms and ammunition stored. General Gage tried to seize the latter, but was repulsed, with a loss of three hundred in killed and wounded. In a few days, Boston

was invested by the volunteers whom he had despised. The Provincial Congress met, as arranged, in May, and took prompt action. The United Colonies of America, numbering thirteen in all, was to be the future style. Their area embraced 829,000 square miles, much of it being forest or uncultivated land. All persons were required to swear allegiance to the Congress, and to abjure British authority, which was held to be forfeited by the recent action. An army was ordered to be raised, and George Washington (1732–1799) was appointed commander-in-chief. As a young man of only twenty-one, he had taken a leading part in resisting the incursions of the French on the Ohio river, at the point where the great city of Pittsburg now stands. He accepted the trust, but declined all pay or allowances, and sacrificed much of his private fortune. A paper currency was issued, and all possible steps were taken to meet the emergency. It was known that fresh troops were on their way from England; and on the seventeenth of June, in the Battle of Breed's Hill—erroneously, but now inevitably, named after the adjoining height of Bunker's Hill—at Boston, victory rested with the half-armed and contemned Colonists, through the pipe-clay martinetism and pride of the royal commander. Attempts to evoke Canadian sympathy and help proved futile; and an attack upon Quebec, in December, 1775, was repulsed with great loss. The King declared that twenty thousand soldiers should go to America. When told that such a number could not be procured in this country, he determined to hire mercenaries from the Continent, where, as in the Middle Ages, petty princelets, "poor of purse," but "proud of pedigree," were only too ready to sell their subjects, and thus replenish their own impoverished finances. Seventeen thousand Hessians were obtained in this way. These professional German cut-throats and marauders did much by their barbarity to exasperate the Colonists, and to destroy the last vestiges of English influence.

Reconciliation was hopeless after such procedure. In June, 1776, failing all peaceful and constitutional efforts at a settlement, the question of asserting the Thirteen Colonies to be independent was discussed in Congress.

It had been virtually settled in town-meetings, in pulpits, in newspapers, in markets, around camp-fires, in county conventions, and wherever men assembled. On the fourth of July, a day commemorated ever since in exuberant rhetoric and with much gunpowder, the famous Declaration of Independence, drafted by Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), but embodying many of the ideas and some of the phraseology of J. J. Rousseau, and modelled, like the English Bill of Rights of 1689, upon the historic assertion of freedom by the Netherlands in 1581, was adopted and signed in the famous Independence Hall in Philadelphia, by fifty-six patriots whose names are immortal. Their descendants are justly proud of their lineage, regarding it as more illustrious than any title of nobility.

The Declaration was based upon the alleged equality of man—which is not true in any proper sense—and asserted that "all government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed"; an apophthegm that was flat heresy in the eyes of the Tory advisers of the King. The document is one of the most famous in History's muniment room, even after allowing for some misstatements of fact, for some conspicuous errors of taste, and for the assumption that all Colonial grievances and wrongs were due to the personal tyranny of George III. It was at once promulgated throughout the Colonies, and was received with popular acclamation. The original draft contained a passage strongly censuring the slave-trade, and blaming the King for forcing it on America; but it was expunged, out of deference to the representatives of the South, where the cultivation of tobacco, rice, and cotton was supposed to require enforced black labour. This was the earliest instance of a timid subserviency on the part of the Northern States, which continued nearly a century. Besides the Declaration of Independence, common to the whole of the Thirteen States, and ratified by the separate Legislatures, each framed its own written Constitution several years before that of the United States was adopted in 1787. This, too, was ratified in a similar manner. The separate State Constitutions were the result of much deliberation and discussion, and of careful inquiry concerning other

countries. Special care was taken to assert the sovereignty of each State for all internal purposes; those that were external and in common being strictly limited and defined. But it did not prevent the speedy breaking out of a prolonged dispute between the Federalists and the advocates of an absolute autonomy for each State; a dispute that waged down to the time of the Civil War. If, in their practical working, the theoretical Constitutions have not always been perfect; and if, sometimes, the tyranny of a numerical majority has invaded personal liberty, it must be repeated that no system is better than the administrators, and that human selfishness and the love of power never cease to operate.

It is noteworthy that a provision was inserted in the Constitution of the State of New York, where Presbyterianism was in the ascendent, abrogating all laws and usages which could be construed to establish or maintain any particular religious denomination, or to impose religious tests. Virginia, which was mainly Episcopal, took a similar course; and gradually the other States did so, ending with Connecticut in 1818, and with Massachusetts in 1833, in both of which Congregationalism had been the established religion from the earliest settlement. One incidental proof of the political character of the English Church is furnished by the fact that her bishops could not consecrate to the episcopate any one who had not taken the oath of allegiance. Hence it was necessary, at first, for American bishops to be consecrated by their Episcopalian brethren in Scotland, where they are Dissenters in point of law. The earliest instance was that of Dr. Samuel Seabury, who was elected Bishop by the clergy of Connecticut. In February, 1787, certain technical difficulties having been surmounted, Dr. White and Dr. Prevoost received consecration in Lambeth Palace Chapel as Bishops of Pennsylvania and of New York. In the same place, three years later, Dr. Madison was set apart as Bishop of Virginia. The Episcopal Church in America now comprises sixty-nine bishops, with more than four thousand clergy, and a membership of 600,000.

Washington, as commander-in-chief, laid his military plans with consummate skill; and succeeded, by his

courage, prudence, firmness, and perseverance, in surmounting gigantic difficulties. These arose, mainly, from the lack of war materials; from the inexperience of his citizen-soldiers; the constant paucity of money; the gambling and frauds of contractors; the rivalries, jealousy, and treachery of some of his colleagues; occasional disaffection and mutiny among the troops; cabals against his authority, and the spirit of faction which always asserts itself among democracies. If some of the superior officers proved themselves to be suspicious, incompetent, or false, many more rendered loyal service, and ably carried out the plans of the commander-in-chief. Such were Generals Israel and Rufus Putnam, Richard Montgomery, Peleg Wadsworth, Philip John Schuyler, Anthony Wayne, Nathaniel Greene, Joseph Warren, John Stark, David Wooster, and William Prescott. The Colonial troops were often reduced to desperate straits by the failure of supplies. During the terrible Winter of 1778, they were without blankets, or boots, or proper clothes, and sometimes, for days together, without meat or bread. Yet Washington's courage, resource, and patience were unfailing. He was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen"; invincible even in defeat; serene under danger; brave and hopeful in the darkest hours; magnanimous in triumph; never rash, imprudent, or avaricious; displaying wonderful tact and forbearance in dealing with men; and never more heroic than when he laid down his victorious sword, or when he declined the honour of a third nomination to the Presidency, and sought the retirement of Mount Vernon, like Cincinnatus retiring to his plough. The only blot upon his escutcheon is the hanging of André as a spy; but the difficulty of the modern censor is to realise the full stress of circumstances. Washington was recalled, to become the President for a double term of eight years. His farewell address ranks among the sacred documents of American history. Thackeray has done justice to him in 'The Virginians.' When Washington finally retired from public life in 1797, he was followed in the Presidency by John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe, with whom ended the line of the earlier and active instruments in effecting American Independence.

While the war lasted, many detached skirmishes took place, and some indecisive battles, with one or two serious reverses for the Americans. But they were inspired by the hope of ultimate victory, and were encouraged by such notable events as the surrender of Burgoyne, at Saratoga, with three thousand five hundred men, in October, 1777, and the capture of York Town, Virginia, four years later, when Lord Cornwallis and nearly seven thousand men had to lay down their arms. This was the darkest hour for England during the war. All eyes were turned towards Chatham, as the one man who could take the helm. North implored the King to send for him, feeling his own inability to cope with the crisis. Prominent men of all parties joined in the advice. George III. was so obstinate and rancorous that he would not hear of it. The utmost that he did was to say that if North, remaining as Prime Minister, thought fit to entrust Chatham with a subordinate place, he might do so; but the King absolutely refused to see him or to hold any communication with him. The proposal had to be abandoned. The war became embittered and ferocious by the employment of savage Indians, for whose use scalping-knives were sent out from England, and by the inhuman conduct of some British officers and of the mercenary Hessian troops towards prisoners and suspected persons. The former were hanged without trial, and the latter were banished, and their property was confiscated, until Washington sternly threatened reprisals. Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851) has depicted, in 'The Spy,' scenes that were too common. Chatham, Fox, Burke, and a few others in Parliament protested in strong terms against the barbarous methods of warfare; but they were in a small minority. The bulk of the English people were, undoubtedly, on the side of the Government during the early stages of this fratricidal conflict, as they were madly in favour of the great French War, and of the one waged in 1854 with Russia in the Crimea. In the midst of the storm of excitement, Chatham, worthy of Milton's phrase of "the old man eloquent," and, as Cowper sings, "heart-sick of his country's shame," was stricken by death when attempting to speak in the House of Lords on April 7, 1778. At his public funeral

in Westminster Abbey, ordered by Parliament, it was remarked that all persons connected with the Court were conspicuous by their absence.

Two reasons contributed to arouse the prejudice of the English nation: the claims of the Colonists to absolute independence; and a treaty made by them with France, in March, 1778, after several attempts had failed. France did not join in the American War to free the Colonists from the yoke of tyranny, but as part of a great design to break the power of England in Europe. Republican theories were fashionable in France; but to put them in practice was the last thing dreamed of or desired. The Rights of Man, viewed in the abstract, were loudly proclaimed, as eminently desirable on a distant continent, at the expense of England, but the possibility of their speedy assertion at home was ignored. Ten years later witnessed the volcanic outbreak of the Revolution. The true motive was that France never forgot or forgave the loss of Canada; and an opportunity to avenge it was offered by helping the Americans. This led to a war between Great Britain and France, in which Spain joined shortly afterwards, in the hope of recovering Gibraltar. Holland also took part, because of maritime jealousies and trade disputes. Rodney's famous naval victories off Cape St. Vincent, in 1780, and in the West Indies, in 1782, with the enforced abandonment by the Spaniards of the siege of Gibraltar, after a long and heroic defence, showed that nothing was to be gained by prolonging the contest, of which all parties were weary. While it lasted, the system of privateering was revived to a greater extent than ever. Benjamin Franklin truly described it as the universal bent of the English nation to commission vessels, and authorize their crews to rob the merchant ships of other nations on the high seas. No fewer than seven hundred licensed pirates were thus let loose during the American War, and the newspapers teem with notices of their deeds of rapine and violence, which were but a small part of the dismal tale. Between July, 1778, and the following May, privateers from Liverpool took prizes exceeding one million in value. In practice, many of these were buccaneers, manned by

villains and scoundrels who scrupled at nothing, who were incarnate demons of cruelty, and who interpreted as they chose, or disregarded altogether, the exceedingly loose provisions that were supposed to regulate the capture of prizes, which formed the sole object of pursuit.

The defeat of Cornwallis (1738–1805) at York Town, October 19, 1781, was virtually the close of the American War. He was not left free to act, and yet was not adequately supported. His subsequent career as Governor-General of India and as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland demonstrated his great ability, and also his high character. The party in favour of peace had grown in the Legislature. North's long tenure of office came to an end in March, 1782, after two close divisions in Parliament on motions censuring the conduct of the war. The old fire-eating spirit of professional soldiers, who boasted of making short work of the "rebels" in America, had received a series of severe checks. The country was delivered from what was, perhaps, the worst and most disgraceful administration that had existed since the notorious Cabal Ministry in the time of Charles the Second. For twelve years, North had zealously seconded the royal attempts to set up a new despotism, in the guise of personal rule. The results were corruption at home and dishonour abroad. The English Crown was reft of one of its brightest jewels, in the loss of the growing American Colonies with their boundless potentiality of development. Commissioners on both sides met in Paris, and a Provisional Treaty was arranged, November 30, 1782. It was finally ratified in the following September, after prolonged and anxious discussions over questions of boundary, fishing rights, the free navigation of the Mississippi River, and compensation for property destroyed. The Thirteen Provinces were recognised as free, sovereign, and independent. Lord Shelburne predicted that when American Independence was granted, the sun of England would set, and her glories be eclipsed for ever. Yet he lived to negotiate the peace, and to witness the Battle of Trafalgar, which established the maritime supremacy of England. George III. yielded with extreme reluctance, and only as a matter of imperative necessity ; but there

was no alternative. The reception of John Adams, the first American Ambassador to the Court of St. James', in June, 1785, and the second President of the United States from 1797 to 1801, is the one redeeming feature in the conduct of George III. towards his quondam subjects; for he had the grace frankly to accept the inevitable, and to receive Adams as a gentleman. The war was a crisis in the history of England. If the Colonists had been defeated, the liberties of the mother-country would have been placed in jeopardy; for it is certain that despotism would have been attempted at home, and another civil war might have broken out. Even as it was, the closing years of the century witnessed a conspiracy against popular liberties, under the pretext of repressing revolution and anarchy.

CHAPTER LXXII.

INDIA AND THE COLONIES.

A.D. 1760–1800.

For nearly two years after Lord North's retirement from office, in March, 1782, there were frequent Cabinet changes and reconstructions, deserving of ridicule as clumsy joinery, to use Burke's famous phrase on one of Chatham's attempts. The royal influence was felt in all these changes; especially by intriguing with the Peers to reject the India Bill, brought in by Fox on behalf of the Ministry, in December, 1783. The same influence was flagrantly exerted, as usual, in the General Election of the following March, so as to ensure a strong Tory majority in the House of Commons. The electoral power of the great Whig families was broken by the free use of Court bids and promises. One hundred and sixty members of the Opposition lost their seats. They were known as Fox's Martyrs, after the Whig leader. He and Lord North, who had joined in the brief Coalition Ministry of the Duke of Portland, from April to December, 1783, were ignominiously dismissed by the

King, who sent at midnight to demand their seals of office, and declined to see them in person. William Pitt (1759-1806), second son of the Earl of Chatham, became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Though only in his twenty-fifth year, he had already filled the latter post, and given proof of his great natural and hereditary abilities, which had been developed with the utmost care and skill by his father. He was never youthful or immature. It was said of him that he did not grow, but was cast. By birth and training a Whig, he at first sought to restrain the Crown influence. He declared of the House of Commons that, without reform, no man of honesty could be a Minister; but he gradually modified his opinions and changed his course. His is not a solitary instance of the possession of office cooling the ardent aspirations proper to Opposition. From the time of the French Revolution, his rule became arbitrary. More than once he sacrificed his own convictions and abandoned his policy, to gratify the King. With a friendly Court, an obsequious Parliament, and a confiding people, he filled the supreme place in the administration for more than seventeen years; and again for nearly two years until his death.

Pitt's friends and supporters named him the Heaven-born Minister, and never wearied of extolling his merits and of applauding the mellifluous and copious speeches which he poured forth with endless facility; even if they were sometimes staggered by what Coleridge truly styled "a premature and unnatural dexterity in the combination of words." No one practised more effectually the ancient maxim, revived by Talleyrand, that the use of language is to conceal thought. What Pitt once said of Erskine, that he had attenuated the thread of a speech by Fox, applied to his own speeches, so far as an opinion can be formed from the inadequate reports that survive. They were redundant and verbose; loaded with glittering generalities and magniloquent commonplace; delivered in a pompous manner, in monotonous tones, with solemn pauses; but devoid of the breadth of view, the clearness of insight, the grasp of principles, and the power of initiation usually expected of a great statesman and the leader of a party. William

Windham (1750–1810) designated it a State-Paper style, alluding to its combined dignity and poverty. Pitt was a master of sarcasm and invective, and, as a debater, was unrivalled in slurring over weak points, and in raising side issues. Macaulay, writing at second-hand, describes his oratory as lofty, sonorous, and commanding. Coleridge, who reported and dressed up some of his speeches for the 'Morning Post,' called him "a stupid, insipid charlatan." Cobbett styled him "a loud-snorting babbler," as if he were some Bombastes Furioso; but his prejudices were strong, and he hated Pitt. It must be admitted, however, that the matter and the manner of the speeches were exactly suited to the Bœotian minds and the inane idlers who then formed the majority of the House of Commons, where he ruled as absolutely as Walpole had done, and knew how to employ his marvellous dexterity as a debater, just as his policy appealed to their selfish class interests, under the guise of a pseudo-patriotism.

The forgotten wits of 'The Rolliad,' a pretended review of an imaginary epic poem, made it their inexhaustible joke against Pitt that he lived a cleanly life, which was thought to be something extraordinary in that age of loose morality. Despising the coarse pleasures of his times; as indifferent as Fabricius to money and splendour; negligent to a fault, like Charles Surface, of his private affairs, which were left in a state of inextricable confusion at his death; refusing all titles for himself; cold, haughty, and repellent, even to his colleagues, whom he treated as chief clerks, in a manner even more pronounced than his father had done, his ambition was to lead the House of Commons and to control the destinies of England and of Europe. Even his enemies admitted that in his failings there was nothing mean, paltry, or low. He was clever in adopting the opinion of others, and did not always acknowledge his obligations. The charge falsely brought by Disraeli against Sir Robert Peel, of being a Parliamentary middleman and a gigantic Appropriation Clause, was literally true of Pitt. His famous Sinking Fund, so plausible and so popular for a time, was taken, in its main features, from Dr. Richard Price (1723–1791), who

said that of three schemes propounded by him, Pitt selected the worst. Financiers have not yet ceased to expose the fallacy which underlies and vitiates the whole project. In a manner worthy of Mr. Wilkins Micawber, money was borrowed to pay off the National Debt ; and the liability was supposed to be lessened thereby ! Pitt practised a piece of financial legerdemain, and framed a puzzle in compound interest which deceived himself and deluded others.

His great measure, in 1787, for combining the different branches of Customs and Excise, though one of the most important in the commercial and fiscal history of the country, only carried into effect a plan of Walpole's. He intended, according to Grenville, to abolish Customs' Duties ; but the breaking out of the French War deranged his plans. He then committed the fatal blunder of raising almost the whole of the heavy cost by means of onerous loans. During the first six years he borrowed one hundred and eight millions on terms so stringent that nearly double that sum was added to the National Debt. Another improvement ascribed to him, but likewise taken from Walpole, was the creation of a Consolidated Fund, into which all taxes were to be paid. Pitt also proposed that Irish trade should be free ; and he effected a Commercial Treaty with France, on lines projected by Lord Shelburne, in 1760. This was done in the face of much interested and clamorous opposition, similar to that successfully raised against the commercial clauses of the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713. Fox and Burke, in a spirit of keen partisanship that has been too common in political warfare, vehemently resisted the project, as huckstering and peddling. It was then held literally to be the duty of an Opposition to criticize and denounce every Ministerial plan. The War of the French Revolution unfortunately ended the compact, but it was a notable and praiseworthy feature in Pitt's administration, even if he cannot be credited with being the originator. It anticipated the ampler policy of the Commercial Treaty effected with France in 1860 by Richard Cobden.

Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 was the first attempt, after the events described in Chapter LXIX., to

bring affairs in India under home control. The intention was good; but there were no precedents, and mistakes and failures had to be rectified by the light of future experience. The minor Presidencies of Bombay and Madras were subordinated to a central authority in Calcutta. With a Governor-General were associated four members of Council having equal voting powers. A Supreme Court of Judicature was created, avowedly to check illegal procedure; but its powers were ill-defined, and conflicts soon arose with the administration. Officials were prohibited from trading or receiving presents. Pitt took up the question in 1784. A scheme framed by Dundas (1740–1811), afterwards Viscount Melville, provided for the appointment of a Board of Control, as a department of the Cabinet, with access to all correspondence, and power to supervise the directors of the East India Company. The system remained in force until the occurrence of the Indian Mutiny led to the whole machinery of government being transferred to the Crown in 1858.

One of the most formidable opponents of British rule in India, after the final departure of Clive, was Haider Ali, who, from his stronghold at Seringapatam, plotted to extend his sway far beyond the Mysore, and to drive out the English from that district. Actual hostilities broke out in the Karnátic, in 1780, at a time when the government of Bengal was occupied with the Marhattá War. In three weeks, the British empire in Southern India seemed brought to the verge of ruin, from which it was rescued by the energy, the resource, and the courage of Warren Hastings (1733–1818). He had gone out as a lad in a subordinate capacity in the East India Company's service, but his abilities were recognised by Clive, who advanced him to difficult but distinguished and lucrative posts. He became Governor-General of Bengal, and proved himself in every respect equal to the high office, whatever may now be thought of some of his methods of dealing with native treachery and intrigue. Macaulay's indictment of Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, on a charge of allowing himself to be bribed by Hastings to desist from an alleged course of scandalous illegality, that was long held to associate his

name for infamy with Scroggs and Jeffreys, was refuted in 1840 by the son of the Chief Justice. Impey also cleared himself by his able speech at the bar of the House of Commons, which created an impression as marked as the one delivered in the same place by Samuel Pepys in defence of the Naval department. Macaulay ignored the vindication; just as he did the clear disproof by Hepworth Dixon and J. Paget of the allegations made by him against William Penn, of being a tool of the Court in the time of James II., and of complicity in some of the most disgraceful incidents that followed the Monmouth rising. His estimate of Marlborough, and his half-apology for the Massacre of Glencoe, also need to be read with reserve. Unfortunately, the great Whig historian and essayist sometimes allowed political bias to influence his brilliant literary productions; and he sacrificed accuracy to his love of rhetorical antithesis. Incomparably superior in attainments and character to John Oldmixon (1673–1732), one of the heroes of the 'Dunciad,' both are remarkable for their overmastering spirit of Whig partisanship, though it is a degradation to Macaulay to imply a comparison in literary style with Oldmixon's dull, careless, and unveracious compilations.

As soon as Hastings heard in Calcutta of the attack by Haider Ali, he made peace with the Marhattás; collected all the available forces and treasure, and sent them to Madras; superseded its incompetent governor; and by this bold course checked the tide of invasion. After two hard-fought battles, the Karnátic was saved. He remained at the head of affairs in Bengal till 1785. His administration had already been assailed in the House of Commons, particularly by Burke, who conducted an enormous correspondence, collected and arranged all the evidence, and prepared the voluminous reports, amounting to treatises. At the beginning of the next year he declared an intention of bringing Hastings to justice for alleged high crimes and misdemeanours. When these were formulated, to the number of twenty-two groups of more than three hundred particulars, he was charged with oppression, cruelty, injustice, the acceptance of presents, and with making unfair contracts. The debates were protracted through the Session, calling

forth extraordinary oratorical efforts by Burke, Sheridan, and others. In May, 1787, it was resolved to carry an impeachment to the House of Lords; a method defined by Burke as the great guardian of the purity of the Constitution. However useful it may have been at earlier periods, it had already degenerated into a mere political and party weapon. The trial commenced in the following February, in Westminster Hall. The genius of Macaulay has depicted the scene, in language which ranks deservedly high among English classics. For more than seven years the proceedings dragged their slow length along, with frequent delays, owing to the pressure of other affairs, and ended at last in an acquittal on all the charges. When the news tardily filtered to Calcutta, that city was illuminated, and numerous messages of congratulation were sent home to Hastings. His successor, Lord Cornwallis, who had every opportunity of judging on the facts, entertained a high opinion of him. Personal and party passion ran strong and fierce; yet it was admitted, even by his bitterest foes, that he had not used his vast power and influence for purposes of private gain. The system which he administered, and which prevailed before his time, was branded with censure and shame, and ere long was overthrown. An emphatic negative was given to the real issue then raised, as to whether oppression and corruption were to be the guiding maxims of English rule in the East.

In passing judgment upon Hastings, it is needful to remember that on his courage, promptitude, and fertility of resource depended the continued existence of the English in India, and the deliverance of the country from all the horrors of misrule and anarchy. In the face of grave difficulties and perils; thwarted by jealous colleagues; embarrassed by the blunders of subordinates; and having to meet incessant financial demands by the home authorities, he carried to a successful issue, alone and unaided, the experiment of establishing a trading company as a territorial and military power. All this was done in disregard of scruples which rightly weigh with distant onlookers. He had suddenly to decide whether he would use dubious efforts and save India

or whether he would relinquish the struggle and bear the obloquy of loss. Moreover, he had to counterplot against the craft of the Oriental mind, which applies a different standard in its judgment of men and of events. Hastings retired to his Worcestershire estate, where he occupied himself as a country gentleman, dying in 1818, at the age of eighty-five. He had outlived the strife of party; and when he appeared at the bar of the House, not long before his death, to give evidence on Indian affairs, he was received with special marks of respect. Cowper, in 'Expostulation,' includes the misrule of India among the national sins which provoked Divine vengeance in disastrous wars and the loss of the American Colonies, while exonerating Hastings, whom he knew at Westminster School, and characterizing him as "humane, conversable, and kind."

Nor was the development in India the only extension of British rule. Admiral Lord Anson completed his circumnavigation of the globe in 1744, after a voyage of nearly four years, opening up to future travellers the Southern Seas, with their innumerable and prolific coral islands and reefs. Captain James Cook sailed from Plymouth in 1768, in a ship of three hundred and seventy tons, to explore the Pacific Ocean. He was absent three years. Then, and in two subsequent voyages, he re-discovered Australia, or New Holland, as it was at first designated. The Dutch, in 1605, and the Spaniards, as early as 1526, had landed on the continent, but no attempt was made to explore or settle it. William Dampier, in the course of his voyage round the world, from 1684 to 1690, visited Australia and New Guinea, and gave his name to the Dampier Archipelago and Strait. The only use to which the continent was put by England for many years was as a penal settlement, with which the name of Botany Bay will always be dismally associated. Cook also discovered other groups of islands in the Southern Pacific; and on one of these, Owhyhee, or Hawaii, he lost his life, in 1779, at the age of fifty-one, in an unfortunate dispute with the natives. It is one of the largest and best-known groups, named after the Earl of Sandwich, then at the head of the Admiralty. Before the end of the century, representative government

was established in Canada by the Quebec Act of 1791. Exigencies arising from the national laws and customs of the French-speaking population, and from religious differences, were met by a division of the country into Upper and Lower Provinces. One of Cook's companions, Captain George Vancouver, afterwards discovered the island that bears his name; and this led to the eventual acquisition of the vast territory of British Columbia. Spanish monopoly of the Pacific was finally broken, after an existence almost unchallenged of nearly three centuries. Since that time, the domain of geography has been greatly enlarged by a long line of illustrious travellers, who have widely extended the sum of knowledge concerning ethnography, geology, botany, and natural history in every branch, and opened up vast districts and dense populations to commercial enterprise.

The question of the slave-trade was first agitated in Parliament in 1788. No fewer than six hundred thousand negroes had been imported into Jamaica alone during the century. Bancroft estimates that within that period England kidnapped from Africa upwards of three millions for deportation to the various American Colonies. The mortality amongst the slave-gangs was terrible. It was exceeded by the horrors of the passage across the ocean, in ships closely packed, and inadequately supplied with food, water, and air. Half the miserable creatures sometimes perished in transit. They were flung overboard during a storm, or in sickness, so as to throw the loss upon the underwriters. This was held by the Courts not to be murder, or a punishable act, in a test case tried in 1783, when a captain was charged with thus disposing of one hundred and thirty-two negroes, as if they had been so many cattle. A Statute of 1750 laid down elaborate regulations for the slave-trade, which "enlightened self-interest," usually urged as an adequate safeguard against cruelty or injustice, found it easy to evade or set at naught. The King regarded slavery as one of the good old customs, consecrated by long usage and by the wisdom of his ancestors. He therefore viewed with abhorrence any proposals for its abolition. Such was his feeling, that he wrote a letter in 1770 to Governor Botetourt of Virginia, commanding him, on pain of his

highest displeasure, to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves would be in any respect obstructed, the Assembly having passed a prohibitory Bill. Maryland did the same in 1793. Numerous Colonial enactments of the kind were vetoed, as being detrimental to English prosperity. The ex-Chancellor, Lord Thurlow, in his bearish manner, declared the proposal to be altogether miserable and contemptible. Pitt lent himself to this policy, abandoning his former opinions in deference to the obstinacy of George III., and leaving to others the task and the glory of destroying that infamous trade which John Wesley, when he came to a better mind, stigmatized as "the sum of all villanies." For nearly seventeen years after one of the most powerful Ministers that England ever knew had branded the trade as immoral and detestable, and advocated immediate abolition, it not merely continued unchecked, but was more than doubled, mainly by the free use of English capital, tempting to cupidity by the large returns. Liverpool supplied half the slave-ships, and was said to derive an annual profit of nearly three hundred thousand pounds from this unholy traffic.

A Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade was founded in 1787 by prominent philanthropists like Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce, and Zachary Macaulay. Granville Sharp had already rendered signal service to the cause of humanity by procuring, in 1772 —after long and expensive litigation, carried on by himself, because no lawyer would accept a brief, from fear of the Court—the famous dictum from Lord Mansfield, in the case of the Negro Somerset, that as soon as a slave sets foot upon English soil he becomes free. Cowper's famous lines in 'The Task,' based upon this incident, were quoted by Sheridan in the House of Commons with much effect, in March, 1807. Sharp sent out to Sierra Leone, at his own expense, a number of negroes found in the streets of London abandoned by their masters or by crimps; and he may be said to have founded that African Settlement. Charles James Fox, who had a generous love for the human race, took a leading part in the Legislature in the suppression of the slave-trade, but not until 1807 was a Bill passed. The

chief European countries were gradually induced to concur in joint measures. It seems scarcely credible that a system of bondage or slavery existed in the coal-pits and salt-works of Scotland at the time when English philanthropists were endeavouring to abolish the foreign slave-trade; and that two Acts of Parliament were required in 1775 and in 1799 to cope with this outrageous wrong.

Symptoms of the King's lunacy had appeared early in his reign. In 1788, they became serious, and caused his entire seclusion for six months. The question of a Regency gave rise to strong antagonism between the two political parties, and to an extraordinary inversion of their respective relations and opinions. Pitt and the Tories would not concede any inherent right in the Prince of Wales, apart from the office being conferred by the Legislature, with defined limitations and restrictions. The Whigs might have been expected, from their political antecedents and traditions, to take up that constitutional and reasonable position; but, under the guidance of Fox and Burke, strange to say, they upheld the opposite view; just as they factiously opposed Pitt's wise commercial proposals respecting Ireland in 1785. On both sides, in the former case, it was a personal matter. The Prince was Fox's friend, but disliked Pitt. The latter looked for dismissal from office; and the former hoped that he and his party would be installed, in the event of a Regency. The Irish Parliament, under Grattan's influence, carried an Address to the Prince, asking him to assume the office without restrictions. They would not recognise the right of the English Legislature to decide for Ireland. In the midst of the dispute, the King suddenly recovered; a more humane and scientific method of treatment having been adopted than the one pursued at first by the Court physicians. They had confined the unfortunate patient in a strait-waistcoat; deprived him of all cutting instruments; banished him from his family; and left him to the mercy of coarse and brutal attendants, as if he were violent and dangerous; whereas his disorder chiefly manifested itself in peculiar and painful modes of addressing ladies, instances of which are given in the personal memoirs of

the time, notably in those of Sir Robert Wilson, and in ceaseless and meaningless talk, with an inability to keep to any one subject, or to give intelligible answers. Probably his nervous habit of rapidly repeating parts of sentences, and of asking the same question over and over again—a peculiarity that Horace Walpole called "triptology," and that marked several of his children—arose from an inherited tendency to mental derangement. It is now known that Lord Thurlow, as Chancellor, affixed the Great Seal to a Commission for the opening of Parliament, professedly by order of the King, who, at the time, was under restraint, and incapable of transacting any business. Horace Twiss's 'Life of Eldon' leaves no room for doubt that he did a similar thing on two occasions in 1801 and 1804, and probably in 1810, when the unfortunate monarch had sunk into the mental darkness from which he never emerged. The object was to secure the retention of office by the Tories. Earl Grey, in the House of Lords on January 28, 1811, plainly charged Eldon with doing this. His defence was that he saw the King privately and alone, and acted on his own judgment.

A scheme of postal reform was devised in 1783 by John Palmer, for accelerating the mails and for ensuring the regular delivery of letters, instead of the fitful, tedious, and uncertain system of postboys on horseback. He was authorized to carry out his plans, in spite of the inertness and active opposition of officials, whose traditional rule it is to resist every change. He used the stage-coaches, with armed guards; and arranged for departure and arrival at fixed times. It was thought an achievement to cover the distance between London and Bristol in sixteen hours. By the end of the century, the receipts of the Post Office were quadrupled. This was the germ of the system which Sir Rowland Hill and others developed. Long prior to this time, and down to a recent period, a hateful custom prevailed of opening letters for political purposes; one of the most scandalous instances being the case of Joseph Mazzini, the Italian patriot and refugee, whose correspondence was thus intercepted and examined by order of Sir James Graham, in 1844, when Home Secretary. Another objectionable

usage, that led to much abuse, and was not abolished until 1840, was the privilege of "franking," or free postage, accorded to members of the Legislature and to numerous officials. This was extended to large packages, and miscellaneous articles, including live stock. Palmer's improvements in the postal service were rendered feasible by the work of engineers like Thomas Telford (1757–1834) and John Rennie (1761–1821), whose story is narrated in the fascinating 'Lives of the Engineers,' by Samuel Smiles. They did much to open up communications and to facilitate traffic by the great roads which they constructed, not without ignorant opposition and occasional violence, as in the later case of railways. The 'Gentleman's Magazine' of November, 1752, contains an elaborate article, comparing English roads with those of other countries, which may be read in connection with the graphic descriptions by Arthur Young in his 'Tours,' published in 1768 and 1770. The name of John Loudon Macadam (1756–1836) is associated with a later method of using broken granite, pressed so as to cohere. From 1760 to 1773, four hundred and fifty-two Acts were passed for making or improving roads, which led to an amount of travelling hitherto unknown, and helped to break down the insularity of country life. It was thought wonderful in 1775 that upwards of four hundred coaches were running, each capable of carrying eighteen persons.

The great system of navigable canals was virtually instituted in 1758 by the Duke of Bridgewater, worthily called the Father of British Inland Navigation, whose sagacious and generous support enabled James Brindley (1716–1772) to carry out a long cherished plan. He held a theory that rivers were made to be tributary to canals. Many Acts of Parliament were passed in the closing decade of the century for gigantic works of public utility, and the science of civil engineering rapidly developed. Lombe's silk-throwing machinery (1718), and Strutt's stocking-frame (1756), were followed by mechanical appliances in staple industries, including Kay's fly-shuttle, Richard Arkwright's spinning-frame and power-loom, James Hargreaves' carding-machine and spinning-jenny, Edmund Cartwright's power-loom, and, chief of all, Samuel Crompton's mule-jenny, superseding the

domestic manufacture, but inducing other evils not wholly neutralized by cheapness. All the textile trades received a great impetus from these inventions, in spite of the ignorant resistance which all of them encountered, as has been the case at the outset with every labour-saving appliance. Down to the year 1790, America had not begun to export cotton. Most of the supply for the English mills came from the East. India had for generations sent calicoes, prior to the inventive processes above-named. For a long time the difficulty with American cotton lay in the separation of the seed from the fibre; but, in 1793, Eli Whitney, a New England mechanic, perfected a machine to effect this; and America annually despatched a million and a half pounds of cotton to England before the close of the century. In twenty years it rose to eight millions, and to thirty in 1830. The English exports of cotton goods increased in value from £860,000 in 1785 to eighteen millions in 1810, and they were trebled by 1840. It was the same with other branches of textile industry.

All these inventions were made fully available by James Watt's (1730–1819) steam-engine; the ultimate development of many experiments, first mentioned in the sixty-sixth Chapter, from the time of De Caux and of the Marquis of Worcester; of Denys Papin and James Leupold; of Thomas Savery and Thomas Newcomen; and of such specific applications as Blackley's tubular boilers in 1764. Great inventions, like the steam-engine and the printing-press, usually undergo various stages of evolution ere they are brought to maturity. The productive industry of coal and iron-mining also increased by leaps and bounds; through new processes by Henry Cort and Neilson in the production of iron, including the puddling-forge, and, in 1828, the hot-blast, with a growing number of useful purposes to which iron was applied. Then, in 1833, the invention of the steam-hammer by James Nasmyth, enabled large masses to be dealt with for welding and forging purposes; but this wonderful piece of mechanism was employed at Creuzot, in France, before it was adopted by the great ironworks in England. Birmingham, Sheffield, and other towns rapidly increased with the expansion of the coal and iron industries; as

did the pottery districts of Staffordshire from the ingenuity, the enterprise, and the foresight of men like Josiah Wedgwood (1730–1795). This prince of English potters, calling to his aid the genius of John Flaxman (1755–1826), and followed by the Mintons, the Copelands, and others, brought the fictile arts to an unparalleled height of excellence for utility, beauty, and cheapness. His life has found tardy but efficient biographers in Ellen Meteyard and in Llewellyn Jewitt. In all these ways a transformation was rapidly effected of a social condition that had for ages been based upon agriculture and wool-growing, into one based upon manufactures and commerce. Norfolk continued to be renowned for its agriculture and its weaving. Suffolk was beginning to emerge from the sloth and inactivity which had long prevailed; but the poet Crabbe, who was born at Aldborough, in 1752, gives an unflattering account of his native county. South Wales was rising into importance, through its copper and iron. Lancashire and Yorkshire were revealing signs of their mineral wealth, and of their capacity for manufacturing development. The busy and ceaseless hum of the workshop was heard in places hitherto given over to silence and solitude. New Titanic forces, undreamed of a few years before, were employed to assist the growing manufacturing industries which made England for generations the workshop of the world. John Dollond, the optician, constructed the first achromatic telescope, in 1758. Hale, Clayton, Spedding, Murdock, Winsor, Clegg, and others conducted a lengthened series of experiments with gas-lighting, which led to the incorporation, in 1810, of the Chartered Gas Company of London. New processes were devised in the manufacture of articles in common use, and in fresh chemical combinations, that led to extraordinary developments of commercial enterprise in the nineteenth century. Investigations and discoveries in some of these departments were being simultaneously carried on in other countries. The discovery of oxygen gas, for instance, was made in 1774 by Dr. Joseph Priestley and by Charles William Scheele, the Swedish chemist, independently of each other.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

THE ARTS, LITERATURE, AND SCIENCE.

A.D. 1760–1820.

The art of painting was represented in the second half of the seventeenth century by Sir Joshua Reynolds, first President of the Royal Academy, founded in 1768; and by Benjamin West, Thomas Gainsborough, John Opie, James Barry, John Singleton Copley, John Northcote, and Thomas Stothard. Their works have made the fashionable attire and the leading personages of the period familiar to later generations. Reynolds' 'Discourses on Painting' are still valued. Thomas Bewick revived the art of wood-engraving. John Bacon, Joseph Nollekens, and John Flaxman were famous among sculptors. The Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures was established in 1754, and the Society of Artists of Great Britain seven years later. John Home's popular tragedy of 'Douglas,' that took the town by storm, survives only in the juvenile recitation of 'Young Norval.' George Colman's dramas, and those of Arthur Murphy, Richard Cumberland, and James Townley, with the satirical delineations of Samuel Foote, the English Aristophanes, achieved great success with their puns, personalities, and somewhat artificial and jejune wit. A troop of celebrated actors, including Charles Macklin, Spranger Barry, James Quin, Edward Shuter, Thomas Weston, Kitty Clive, Frances Abington, and Peg Woffington divided the honours among them. Provincial theatres became general in large towns. Towards the close of the century, the Kemble family began their splendid career, and were followed by Edmund and Charles Kean. But the principal interest centres around David Garrick (1716–1779), who ruled the stage for thirty years as joint-patentee of Drury-lane, which, with Covent-Garden, possessed for more than a century a monopoly in the representation of Shakspere and in some other respects. Before Garrick's time, said Johnson, "Declamation reared, whilst Passion slept"; adding, hyperbolically, in his sonorous and pompous

style,—"His death eclipsed the gaiety of nations, and impoverished the public stock of harmless pleasures." Cowper generously extols Garrick in 'The Winter Walk at Noon.' He was called the English Roscius, as Richard Burbage (1566–1619) and Thomas Betterton (1635–1710) had been styled before him. He ranks as one of the greatest of actors, for the wide range of his powers and for his naturalness, as contrasted to the pedantic formalism that had long held the Stage in its traditions. He is entitled to the credit of having put a stop, not without difficulty and opposition, to the old practice of privileged spectators being seated at the sides of the stage, in full view of the audience. How little Oliver Goldsmith thought of the Shakspere Revival and of the Jubilee projected by Garrick, and conducted in 1769 at Stratford-on-Avon—mercilessly ridiculed by Foote—appears in the 'Vicar of Wakefield.' Richard Brinsley Sheridan, politician and dramatic star of the first magnitude, produced between 1775 and 1779 four comedies of varied excellence: 'The Rivals,' 'The Duenna,' 'The School for Scandal,' and 'The Critic.' They achieved marvellous success; but their sprightliness appears now somewhat forced.

Garrick's friend and tutor, Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), accompanied him from Lichfield to London, in 1737, with the tragedy of 'Irene' in his pocket, and entered, through a series of struggles, including the Parliamentary reporting incident already described, upon a career of authorship that lasted, intermittently, for half a century. The 'Rambler,' the 'Idler,' a 'Life' of the ill-fated Richard Savage, the 'Lives of the Poets,' and other works, attest his industry, if they display a slow-rolling grandiloquence, corresponding to his peculiar physical movements. His 'Rasselas' is characterized by Oliver Wendell Holmes as being "full of stately wisdom, in processions of paragraphs which sound as if they ought to have a grammatical drum-major to march before their tramping platoons." His masculine intellect and sturdy common-sense detected and exposed the pretended poems of 'Ossian,' issued in 1762 by James Macpherson, a Highland schoolmaster, who deceived such men as Dr. Hugh Blair, Lord Kames, the poet Gray, and Sir John

Sinclair, and aroused a controversy that waged for many years. As a conversational gladiator, or, rather, as a despotic master of monologue, terse, robust, and felicitous in style, Johnson is immortalized by James Boswell (1740–1795)—a prince among biographers, in spite of weaknesses and faults—and is comparable only to Samuel Taylor Coleridge or to Macaulay in later times. His sway was supreme, especially in the Literary Club founded by himself and Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1764. Goldsmith said, using an image from one of Cibber's comedies,—"There is no arguing with Johnson; for, if his pistol misses fire, he knocks you down with the butt end of it." Yet he added, with reference to the cognomen of Ursa Major, applied by Boswell's father to Johnson, that he had nothing of the bear but his skin. Smollett styled him the Great Cham of Literature.

Tobias Smollett's (1721–1771) so-called 'Complete History of England,' from the visit of Julius Cæsar to the Treaty of Aix la-Chapelle, in 1748, a unique specimen of literary presumption, was written in fourteen months, and yielded him two thousand pounds. It is superficial, inaccurate, and a dull and wearisome record. His fame rests on his novels; notably, on 'Humphrey Clinker,' which Thackeray ranked as one of the very best in the whole range of imaginative literature. This charming work, with its multitudinous lights and shadows, its variety of incident and character, and its easy and picturesque style of narrative, besides being one of the most mirth-provoking stories in the language, is a vivid portraiture of the times. The same sense of the ludicrous, conjoined with a common disregard of decency, pervades his 'Roderick Random' and his 'Peregrine Pickle.' In the Preface to the former work he avows that it was written in imitation of the 'Gil Blas' of Le Sage. Fielding's coarseness belongs to his own time, and is incidental; Smollett's is ingrained and inherent. Yet he will always be read, even though inaccurately dubbed as Smelfungus by Sterne; and his Strap, Tom Bowling, Morgan the Welshman, Lismahago, and Matthew and Tabitha Bramble are unsurpassed. Laurence Sterne (1713–1768) leaped out of obscurity and poverty into fame, at the mature age of forty-six, and brought to his

feet the fashionable world of London society, by publishing the first part of 'Tristram Shandy.' He had hawked it among the booksellers, and would have gladly sold it for fifty pounds, but was long refused, as was the case subsequently with Thomas Carlyle and his 'Sartor Resartus.' In spite of its extraordinary and preposterous digressions and dissertations, Sterne's is one of the great classical works in the language, with its subtle amalgam of wit, pathos, irony, buffoonery, and indecency; its metaphysics and moralizing; its knowledge of the springs of human action; its creations of Yorick, Uncle Toby, and Corporal Trim; and its airy, tender, mercurial humour, such as is to be found only in Shakspere or Cervantes. Like other sentimentalists of the first order, Sterne was essentially selfish, if not heartless. Warburton, smarting under the dread of being satirized, described his private character as that of an irrecoverable scoundrel. Horace Walpole sneered about his snivelling over a dead ass, to the neglect of a live mother; but of this there is no proof.

The main design of Sterne's immortal work is founded on Rabelais and on Martinus Scriblerus. The details are largely in imitation of the grotesque humour of an earlier age. He appropriated freely from Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' and he robbed other men's literary orchards with both hands; for he was a notorious plagiarist, yet an undoubted genius. No more original writer ever charmed the world. His famous phrase about the wind being tempered to the shorn lamb, which most readers suppose to be a Biblical quotation—apart from its manifest incongruity, as lambs are never shorn—is found in various forms in literature, and is an old French proverb. It was probably taken by Sterne from George Herbert, who says, in his 'Jacula Prudentum,'—"To a close-shorn sheep God gives wind by measure." Many other famous sayings, like Uncle Toby's remark about the fly, or the recording angel's tear, are adaptations; but the facets of the gems are of Sterne's own cutting. Judged professionally by the standard of his avocation, he was a mere Pagan. His 'Sentimental Journey,' with all its marvellous cleverness, arouses regret and disgust by its prurient double-meanings, and its coarse descriptions. His sermons are well-expressed, vigorous, moral essays,

but nothing more. They contain not a single Christian sentiment. It was not looked for at that time. A generation later, the poet Crabbe was remonstrated with for mentioning heaven and hell in his discourses. Such extravagances, he was told, were very well for Methodists; but a clergyman should confine himself to sober matters of this world, and show the prudence and reasonableness of virtue in this life. In this view, Horace Walpole concurred, though he had redeeming points, and does not deserve the hard measure dealt out to him in Macaulay's famous Essay. True, he had the soul of a Court usher; and found a childish pleasure in adding to his rococo palace at Strawberry-hill, and in crowding it with nick-nacks and bric-à-brac. He was a gossip by nature and training, and spent his life in the heated atmosphere of political and social intrigue, but his writings aspire to be nothing more than the quintessence of contemporary gossip. This has its uses, whatever may be thought of his selfishness and cynicism. Under his keen touches, and as in his 'Castle of Otranto,' to quote Leslie Stephen, "the portraits of our respectable old ancestors, which have been hanging in gloomy repose upon the wall, suddenly step from their frames, and, for some brief space, assume a spectral vitality." That work, and the 'Mysterious Mother,' were the forerunners of Ann Radcliffe's (1764–1803) 'Mysteries of Udolpho,' and her other forgotten romances, and may have had an influence in producing Scott's 'Ivanhoe.' They certainly fired the imagination of the later romantic school of novel-writers, who revel in startling and improbable incidents, in phantom agents, and in terrible crimes. Next came what may be defined as the English sentimental novel with a purpose; the first being William Godwin's (1756–1836) 'Caleb Williams,' exposing the severities of the English criminal law.

The 'Annual Register' was first published in 1759, by Robert Dodsley, footman, author, and bookseller. It furnished to Edmund Burke, who received one hundred pounds annually for the task, an opportunity of taking a comprehensive survey of political and literary events. He was then thirty years of age, but he had already issued his 'Vindication of Natural Society,' an ironical

reply to Lord Bolingbroke, written in perfect imitation of his style and argument. He had also issued his 'Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful.' Both of these works owe their success to the subsequent fame of the writer. The second of them had great influence on G. E. Lessing (1729–1781) and on Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). Oliver Goldsmith's 'Vicar of Wakefield,' the best of all modern prose idylls, his 'Traveller,' and 'Deserted Village,' his minor poems, and his immortal comedies of 'The Good-Natured Man' and 'She Stoops to Conquer,' with their careless, inimitable grace, and with the almost reckless simplicity of his nature, will ever keep his memory green. Horace Walpole described him, somewhat incongruously, as "an inspired idiot"; but it is impossible not to love him, in spite of superficial foibles, such as his waywardness and extravagance, his vanity about his plum-coloured coat, his artless boastfulness, and even graver faults. Within eight years of his untimely death, in 1774, at the age of forty-six, another poet arose, in William Cowper (1731–1800), the gentlest and most pensive of bards; didactic, earnest, grave and gay; to whom is chiefly due the credit of rescuing English verse from the smooth, pointed couplets, the conventional decorum, the false sentiment, and the artificialism that had cramped and degraded it into what he ridicules as "the clockwork tintinnabulum of rhyme." Besides this great and healthy innovation made by Cowper, with his incidental but graphic delineation of persons, events, and manners, and his pardonable garrulity about himself and his simple surroundings, he is one of the most delightful of letter-writers. Almost simultaneously with the publication of 'The Task,' in 1785, another bright but erratic genius flashed forth. Robert Burns (1759–1796) astonished and delighted the world with his tenderness, breadth of humour, and play of fancy; to be flattered, feasted, spoiled, and then flung aside by ephemeral admirers, and left to consume himself within a decade by his own ill-regulated life; and then to be commemorated by Wordsworth, Coleridge, Campbell, Montgomery, Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, Holmes, and by a mighty company of fellow-poets, and to be glorified in Burns Clubs by his countrymen all the world over.

Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), who is compared to and contrasted with Johnson by Colman, projected, while musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, his great work on 'The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' but not completed for twenty-three years; so that six thousand pounds cannot be deemed an excessive return. It is the noblest book in English prose, outside of fiction; symmetrical, final, and executed from beginning to end with the same mastery, on one uniform plan; regard being had to its immense field, both in extent of area and in epochs of time; to its consummate concentration and grasp of view; to its amazing range of learning and curious accuracy of detail; and to its pomp of movement and splendour of style. Gibbon was the first to write a complete history on the largest scale, with a magnificent sense of proportion, and with profound original research; tracing the complex, stormy evolution of the modern world out of the ancient, and the momentous transitions from polytheism and slavery to monotheism and free industry. It is the history of civilization during thirteen centuries. The vast canvas is filled without confusion, without apparent effort, and without discord by one glowing, distinct, harmonious composition. He was not a philosophic historian, nor did he possess the profound insight of Thucydides, of Tacitus, of Bacon, or of Hume, into the springs of human action; but he was great in research, and his work remains as the initial triumph of a great historical method. Allowing for manifest defects, arising from its ornate and elaborate style; from his perverse misconception of Christianity; from his disbelief in heroism, in popular enthusiasm, and in self-devotion; and from his own epicurean and aristocratic habit of mind, his 'Decline and Fall' stands alone and unrivalled for breadth, knowledge, unity of conception, and splendour of form. It resembles the stately, solid, irresistible march of a Roman Legion; and is characterized by Niebuhr as the greatest achievement of human thought and erudition in the department of history.

Most of Archdeacon Paley's (1743–1805) ethical and apologetical works, clear and cold as ice, but shrewd and practical, if largely superseded by a different line of

argument, appeared during the last fifteen years of the century. His famous illustration of the watch was already a commonplace, as Hallam shows, and as Leslie Stephen confirms; and the materials for his 'Evidences' are mainly drawn from the writings of the learned Lardner; but this in no sense derogates from the force of his reasoning. David Hume (1711–1776), after furnishing the arsenal of scepticism with an array of more deadly weapons than earlier doubters had forged, placidly betook himself to the composition of history, writing it in an inverse order of time, by commencing with the Stuart period and then working backwards, infusing into it his own philosophical opinions and political prejudices, not always veiled under what Gibbon called his careless, inimitable beauties of style. It is the basis of his permanent reputation; and, as that prince of critics, John Foster, observes, it perpetuates the moral as well as the intellectual cast of his mind; for it shows him to have been indifferent to the welfare of his species; contemptuous of the sublime feelings of moral and religious heroism; incapable of appreciating all grand and affecting sentiments; and displaying consummate arrogance and cynicism under the semblance of philosophic moderation. His work brought him the substantial solatium of five thousand two hundred pounds; and it at once superseded the productions of Archdeacon Echard (1671–1730), Bishop Kennet (1660–1728), and Thomas Carte (1686–1754) the Nonjuror, whom Hallam praises as the most exact of historians in the use of many original documents.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, there occur also the names of such writers as Dr. William Robertson (1721-1793), who, with Hume and Gibbon, formed the great historical triumvirate of that era; Sir William Blackstone (1723–1780), whose celebrated 'Commentaries on the Laws of England' were first delivered at Oxford in his capacity of Vinerian professor; and Adam Smith (1723–1790), the first systematic writer upon Political Economy as a separate branch of human knowledge. He applied scientific methods to the investigation of commercial and social phenomena. There had been a thin and irregular line of mercantile Free

Traders before he was born. The theory was in the air, but not demonstrated or accepted. His special renown consists in being the earliest writer who so presented the doctrine as to convince statesmen that there was a mass of intelligible and conclusive argument in its favour. After a studious youth spent in Glasgow University, he proceeded to Oxford for seven years. His 'Theory of Moral Sentiments,' in which he builds up the moral nature of man out of the single formative emotion of sympathy, and gives a history of ethical philosophy, was published in his thirty-sixth year. It was followed, in 1776, by 'An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,' the result of ten years' work, and part of a great and unrealised scheme on law and government that floated before his mind, like the magnificent dream of Bacon in dealing with natural philosophy; or like Macaulay's unfinished 'History of England'; or Buckle's massive fragment towards a 'History of Civilization.' The novel doctrines of Adam Smith's work, its close reasoning, its pellucid style, its numerous and unexpected excursions, and its affluence of illustration, attracted much notice. Sir James Mackintosh classed it as the chief of four great works, in four distinct departments of knowledge, which have more visibly and extensively influenced opinion than any other productions of the human intellect.

The second of these is the treatise on 'The Law of War and Peace,' by Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), the distinguished scholar, the profound and enlightened theologian, the acute philosopher, and the judicious historian. The third is John Locke's 'Essay on the Human Understanding,' which marks an epoch in mental philosophy. The fourth is Montesquieu's 'Spirit of Laws,' published in 1748, the work of twenty years, and the first in which the questions of civil liberty were treated in an enlightened and systematic manner as part of the science of politics. He founded the historical method. Burke, his most eminent admirer, deemed him the greatest genius of the age. These four books, to which might be added Rousseau's 'Du Contrat Social,' issued in 1762, have passed through numerous editions, have been extensively translated, and are of abiding

interest and power. The 'Wealth of Nations' is, perhaps, the only book which produced a general and irrevocable change in some of the most important parts of the legislation of all civilized states. For the first time, an incoherent mass of empirical maxims was purged and codified into a definite system. If it has been somewhat superseded as an economical treatise, its main principles are as abiding as Euclid's axioms. It is also full of instruction and of amusement respecting old times and usages. The younger Pitt was favourable to the Free Trade principles expounded and applied with such logical force by Adam Smith; but the outbreak of the French Revolution and the excitement of the Great War set them aside for a generation. Cowper sung,—"If a boundless plenty be the robe, Trade is the golden girdle of the globe"; but most people refused to accept the maxim. There was still further retrogression from "this genial intercourse and mutual aid," so that not until seventy years after the issue of Adam Smith's treatise were its teachings fairly applied. If he overlooked or did not fully appreciate the operation of certain principles, to him belongs the honour of exposing the errors of the mercantile theory, that money is wealth; and of the agricultural theory, that land is the only source of wealth. He brought out clearly, what Hobbes and Locke had dimly perceived, that labour is the true source of wealth, which consists, not in the abundance of gold and silver, but of the various necessaries, conveniences, and enjoyments of life, which each must pursue in his own way.

In other departments of philosophy, the chief writers are Lord Kames, Abraham Tucker, and Dr. Richard Price. Poetry is represented by the 'Elegy' and other polished poems of Thomas Gray, which are laborious pieces of literary mosaic; by the declamatory writing of Mark Akenside, who sometimes vanishes into rhapsody; by the melancholy precocity of Thomas Chatterton, "the marvellous boy, the sleepless soul that perished in his pride"; by Joseph Warton and his brother Thomas, who executed with great industry a vague design of Gray's, of a history of English poetry; by Richard Cumberland and William Falconer, author of 'The Shipwreck.' The historical works of Dr. Robert Henry, William Tytler,

and William Mitford; the biographical collections by James Grainger; and the 'Encyclopædia' of Dr. Abraham Rees, served a useful purpose in their day, but have long since been superseded. Especially is this the fate of books of reference, like that of Rees, dealing largely with scientific topics. To keep pace with new investigations, discoveries, and applications, it is needful to issue fresh editions from time to time, as has been done with the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' and similar works in this department of literature. Its originator was Ephraim Chambers, who published, in 1728, two large folio volumes, of which five editions appeared within eighteen years. He has considerable claims to originality of arrangement, and his work was very popular, and deservedly so. That it has long since passed out of mind is due to the wide extension of the domains of human knowledge. A like doom of forgetfulness has overtaken such theological controversies as that between the vigorous gladiator, Samuel Clarke, and the learned Daniel Waterland, on the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, and many other wearisome, abstruse, and profitless disputations carried on during the second half of the eighteenth century. Even that learned but ponderous work, Nathaniel Lardner's 'Credibility of the Gospel History,' in fifteen volumes, is known only by name to later generations.

In addition to the novels specifically mentioned on a previous page, Henry Brooke's 'Fool of Quality,' a bewildering mixture of mysticism and sentimentalism, admired by John Wesley; the accomplished, wealthy, and erratic William Beckford's 'Vathek'; and Henry Mackenzie's 'Man of Feeling,' feeble and sickly, unrelieved by humour, attained great popularity. Natural history found able exponents in Thomas Pennant and Gilbert White of Selborne. The realm of physical science was systematically investigated, and was beginning to be expounded in popular treatises. Chemistry was revealing its wonders, and opening up new and startling discoveries in manufacturing and domestic applications. Geology was slowly struggling into life. William Smith (1769-1839), the father of that science, published in 1790 his 'Tabular View of the British Strata,' showing their superposition, and cha-

racterizing the different groups by their peculiar fossils. His geological map of England, issued in 1815, marks an epoch in the development of a science which has advanced with rapid strides by the investigations of Dean Buckland, Sir Charles Lyell, Adam Sedgwick, Hugh Miller, Gideon Mantell, and Sir Roderick Murchison. Some of the early theories propounded were based on an insufficient induction of facts; and devout but narrow-minded persons trembled, like Uzzah, for the ark of God; forgetting that Truth is one, indivisible, and harmonious, and that the great Books of Nature, of Providence, and of Revelation cannot be contradictory, but illustrate and confirm one another. A similar panic arose at a later day in the minds of timid persons, with partial knowledge, or devoid of a sense of proportion, who misunderstood the theory of Evolution as propounded by Charles Darwin (1809–1882), the result of a life-long devotion to science, of intense and persistent observation and experiment, and of earnest endeavours to wrest from Nature the key of her mysterious procedure. Astronomy revolutionized thought in the seventeenth century, in spite of priestly ignorance and bigotry, by enlarging man's idea of space. A further revolution was effected by Geology, which enlarged his ideas of time; and now, Biology, using the word to denote the science of life, with what is generally understood as the doctrine of Evolution, is expanding his ideas of species and of creative energy.

The art of printing, hitherto mostly confined to London, spread to country towns. The newspaper press received a great impulse. In 1724, there were in the whole of England but three daily journals, six weekly, and ten published thrice a week. Seventy years later, London alone had thirteen daily morning papers, twenty evening, and nine weekly, besides eighty-four in all in the provinces. In the present year, 1896, there are nearly twenty-three hundred newspapers in the United Kingdom, more than one-fourth being in the metropolis. The number of magazines exceeds nineteen hundred. This is an enormous growth of ephemeral literature, and is not without serious danger, as a menace to the study of the works of great English writers. John Morley

expresses an opinion, in his essay 'On Compromise,' that the multiplication of journals, "delivering brawling judgments unashamed, on all things, all day long," has done much to deaden the small stock of individuality in public verdicts. The 'Morning Chronicle' was first issued in 1770, the 'Morning Post' two years afterwards, the 'Morning Herald' in 1780, and 'The Times' in 1788. The first and the third of these continued to appear within living memory, the second and the fourth have always adapted themselves to the varying requirements of the age. Cowper's poem on 'Conversation' reveals the average style of talk in the fashionable world, just as his 'Tirocinium' exposes the state of public schools, which had become a scandal and an abomination, and also the hollowness of what was miscalled education. He says there was abundant pot-house debating, "all loud alike, all learned, and all drunk." The system pursued at the great public schools was that adopted by Pedagogue Thwackum with Tom Jones. A trifling amount of classical lore was driven in by a merciless application of the birch. The claims of the physical and mathematical sciences were regarded as unworthy of notice. Modern languages were wholly neglected. The expense was enormous, but was deemed necessary, in order that boys of the upper classes might associate with their equals, and form connections and friendships likely to prove useful in after life in the political arena, in the Church, the Army, or the Navy. Nor were most of the private seminaries and academies for the middle and upper classes better qualified to impart to their pupils anything worthy of the name of education. The newspapers contain advertisements offering board, lodging, and tuition for ten or twelve pounds per annum, preludes of the exaggerated descriptions of Squeers and Dotheboys Hall, in 'Nicholas Nickleby.' What this meant appears from particulars furnished by Robert Southey, William Hazlitt, Lord Eldon, and others.

Sunday Schools are said to have been started in 1765 by Theophilus Lindsey, an eminent clergyman who, having tried in vain to infuse a more liberal sentiment, and to obtain legislative relief from what were felt to be galling restrictions, seceded from the Church of England, and

became a leader among the Unitarians. It is certain there were a few isolated instances, but, in a general sense, they were established in 1781 by Robert Raikes, of Gloucester. Four years later, a Society was formed in London to sustain similar schools throughout the kingdom. Reading and writing were important parts of the instruction given; for these elementary arts, in common with the religious teaching of the children of the poor, had been almost wholly neglected by the clergy. There were only a few scattered Charity Schools, and those set up by old women as a means of eking out a livelihood, where the horn-book and the rod formed the sole implements of teaching. As a result, most children grew up with only such knowledge as could be acquired in the streets, and few adults among the labouring class were able to read or write. Hannah More did much to bring about an improved state of education in the wide district around her Somersetshire home, which she describes as almost Pagan, and the scene of the greatest ignorance and vice. She saw only one Bible in Cheddar parish, and that was used to prop a flower-pot. She speaks of thirteen contiguous parishes without a resident curate. Her account of the character, attainments, and pursuits of many of the clergy, and of their opposition to her benevolent efforts, is appalling, and is typical of a widespread condition of things. Cowper bears similar testimony as to the state of affairs at Olney, in Bucks, where he so long resided. Wesley's Journal abounds with instances of popular ignorance encountered in his wide travels. It is not surprising that astrologers and fortune-tellers throve; that dense superstition led to an almost universal use of charms and talismans; that charlatans and impostors abounded; and that a belief in ghosts and witchcraft was universal. When such a man as Johnson was deluded for a time by the clumsily-contrived Cock-lane Ghost, for which Churchill satirized him as Pomposo, the prevalent popular credulity may be imagined. Herbert Spencer, treating in 'Social Statics' of national education, remarks upon the unfriendliness of all ecclesiastical bodies, from Brahmins and Mohammedan doctors, who ignore all books but the Shasters and the Koran, down to the average modern cleric, with his narrowness

and dogmatism, who hates the very name of philosophy or science. The new-born zeal for education in modern days, with its varnish and veneer, and its false standards of attainments, is sectarian, rather than national or religious, as is shown in the seventy-ninth Chapter.

Nor was the condition of affairs any better in what were supposed to be the national seats of learning. They had become close corporations of somnolent and useless officials. The indecent contentions and prolonged lawsuits between Richard Bentley, the Master of Trinity, and the Fellows, were not an isolated scandal. Thomas Hearne wrote of Oxford, in 1720, that there was "hardly one college but where all the members are busied in law business and quarrels not at all relating to the promotion of learning." Nicholas Amhurst's satire of 'Terræ Filius,' even allowing for large exaggerations, is a deplorable and revolting picture of vulgarity, insolence, and license. The Universities are spoken of in terms of disparagement by men of all parties. Dean Swift declared that nothing more could be learned at them than to drink ale and smoke tobacco. Lord Chesterfield speaks of "the rust of Cambridge" as something of which a polished man should promptly rid himself. Adam Smith was so impressed by the indifference of Oxford authorities to their duties, "the greater number of the public professors having for these many years given up altogether even the pretence of teaching," as to find in it a striking illustration of the neglect of the true principles of supply and demand, implied in the endowment of learning; for they derived their principal support "from a fund altogether independent of their success and reputation in their particular professions." Gibbon, who was enrolled in 1752 as a student of Magdalen College, then one of the most wealthy foundations in Oxford, draws in his autobiography a vivid picture of the indolence, the ignorance, the scorn of learning, and the convivial habits that generally prevailed. He passed there "the most idle and unprofitable period" of his life, and said that he was as willing to disclaim the University as a mother, as she could be to renounce him for a son. Dr. Samuel Johnson and William Wilberforce give similar testimony, as does the poet Gray about Cambridge, in his charming

Letters,' and in his somewhat splenetic 'Hymn to Ignorance.' He was almost the only man of celebrity there, and he insisted that Isaiah had Cambridge in view, equally with Babylon, when he wrote of the wild beasts and wild asses, of the satyrs that dance, of habitations of dragons and a court for owls. Dr. Vicesimus Knox, Fellow of St. John's, Oxford, and head-master of Tunbridge School, published in 1778 two volumes of 'Essays,' in which he maintained that the general tendency of the Universities, as then conducted, favoured the diffusion of ignorance, idleness, vice, and infidelity; and he gave a scathing exposure of the frivolous if not blasphemous ceremonies through which undergraduates were required to pass before taking a degree. Such evidence might be multiplied to any extent. Oxford was one of the last places to acknowledge the Newtonian philosophy: and the heads of houses met in solemn conclave and decided to censure and discourage the reading of John Locke's works. Attempts to rescue ancient educational endowments from scandalous waste and mismanagement; to widen the scope of the teaching; to overcome the contemptuous non-recognition of physical science; to abolish meaningless oaths and trumpery formalities; and to restore the institutions to national uses, were doggedly resisted, and, as far as possible, frustrated, until the great schemes of reform in 1854 and subsequently.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge dates back to 1698, in its original form. Three years later, the existing Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded, reviving the somewhat similar title, with wider scope, of a corporation created by the Long Parliament for missionary work in New England. The Moravians, or United Brethren, early in that century, commenced similar labours at the Cape, in the West Indies, and in Labrador; but systematic and continuous enterprise of the kind was deferred until the last decade of the century, following what was called the Evangelical Revival. That period witnessed the formation of various foreign missionary societies. The Baptists took the lead in 1792; speedily followed, in 1795, by the London Society, intended to be unsectarian; and then by the Church, the Wesleyan, and kindred institutions in

England and in America. With them are identified the names of Heber, Bishop of Calcutta, Henry Martyn, William Carey, Christopher Frederick Schwartz, Judson, Milne, Medhurst, William Knibb, John Williams, Robert Moffat, and William Burns, down to David Livingstone, Bishops Patteson, Hannington, Selwyn, and Mackenzie, John Calvert, and many other apostolic men in recent times. David Brainerd had signalized a short life of thirty years (1717–1747) by arduous labours among the tribes erroneously called North American Indians, in the same self-sacrificing spirit which had distinguished John Eliot. Numerous educational and benevolent institutions, like the Religious Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society, date their origin from the same period as the missionary institutions.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

A.D. 1789–1793.

The cataclysm known as the French Revolution, like other great crises in human affairs, was the result of a long series of religious, political, social, and economic causes. It had far-reaching consequences, not only throughout Europe, but extending to India and America. In its immediate origin it was the passionate protest of a nation long enslaved, who could not bear the intolerable weight of misgovernment. The extended reign of Louis XIV. (b. 1638, r. 1643–1715) was a gilded tyranny, hollow, extravagant, and iniquitous, described by Burke as "a despotism proudly arrayed in manners, gallantry, splendour, and magnificence, and even covered over with the imposing robes of science, literature, and the arts." Dignified ecclesiastics, nobles, a swarm of insolent officials, and a few poets, painters, and musicians sauntered through life, hunted, intrigued, gambled, amassed wealth, squandered it, and abandoned themselves to dissipation and profligacy, while the millions

struggled, starved, perished, and were forgotten in the midst of the wild Walpurgis revel. Lyons silk-weavers, toiling incessantly for seventeen hours a day to fabricate rich hangings for the palace, or costly garments for frail beauties of the Court, could earn only a bare subsistence. The multitude of workers fed on black bread or offal. Salt was a monopoly. The common necessaries of life were made artificially dear by absurd restrictions on produce and sale. Game-laws were mercilessly enforced over a wide area. Wolves and wild boars were rigidly preserved for sport. Agriculture, trade, and industry were crippled by excessive taxation, rigorously enforced by farmers-general, who paid a fixed sum, and made what they could. The incidence bore heavily on the poor. The nobles and the clergy were exempted from most of the imposts. The people were oppressed and ruined. Law was strained. Justice was denied, or sold.

Observers like John Locke and Sir William Temple, in the course of extended travels through France, were painfully impressed by what they saw and heard; and they describe the miserable condition of things at the close of the seventeenth century. After the death of Louis XIV., matters grew worse, under his base, selfish, debauched great-grandson, Louis XV. (b. 1710, r. 1715–1774). Lord Chesterfield, in a remarkable letter, written in 1753, noted the signs of approaching revolution, and predicted that the trades of king and priest in France would be shorn of their glory. About the same time, Oliver Goldsmith, sauntering through the country with his flute, averred that the French people were "imperceptibly vindicating themselves into freedom," and that great changes were impending. Arthur Young made an extensive tour through France in 1787, just before the avalanche burst forth, and he has left full particulars of the prevalent misery, which are amply confirmed by other travellers. The peasantry, with few exceptions, were in a most indigent state; their houses were dark, comfortless, and almost devoid of furniture; their dress was ragged and scanty; their toil of the hardest; and their food coarse and insufficient. Young gives a long and painful recital of their sufferings, and enumerates taxes, services, and restrictions, survivals of the Feudalism

that had been rampant for nearly a thousand years, but for which no equivalent names existed in English. Complaints were useless. Those who made them were incarcerated for months and years in horrible fortresses. *Lettres de cachet* were freely issued, to immure troublesome or suspected persons ; and they were seldom heard of again. Trial by jury was unknown ; as was anything analogous to the English Habeas Corpus Act. All this explains the hatred which, long pent-up, broke forth like a lava-flood against crushing despotism.

The French Revolution was the stage on which was enacted the death-struggle between the old Feudalism and the new Democracy. Philosophic and speculative writers like Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Condorcet, Helvétius, D'Alembert, Diderot, and the Encyclopédists did much to create a passionate belief in human progress, and to pave the way for an entire change in the system of government. Some of them had visited England, to study its literature and its institutions. Buckle gives an extensive list. The works of Bacon, Locke, Hobbes, Hales, Hume, Adam Smith, and other English writers, were translated into French, and exerted great influence. Diderot and D'Alembert, in particular, owe their intellectual and moral pedigree to Bacon. Rousseau imbibed the spirit of Locke, as is seen in 'Du Contrat Social,' which Burke regarded as the work of an eloquent madman. It was also influenced by Calvin's share in framing a Constitution for the little Republic of Geneva, where Rousseau was born, in 1712; and, still more largely, does it bear the impress of Hobbes of Malmesbury ; resulting, as John Morley points out, in a curious fusion between the premisses and the temper of Hobbes and the conclusions of Locke. "The fusion produced the popular absolutism of which 'Du Contrat Social' was the theoretical expression, and Jacobin supremacy the practical manifestation. Rousseau borrowed from Hobbes the true conception of sovereignty, and from Locke the true conception of the ultimate seat and original of authority ; and of the two together he made the great image of the sovereign people." It was the Gospel of the Jacobins ; and much of their action is intelligible only when viewed as the practical application of his teaching.

In the midst of these stirring scenes, Louis XVI. ascended an unstable throne in 1774. A good-natured, well-meaning man, he had not the skill or the strength to ride the storm. Attempts were made to cope with the more aggravated evils ; but the reforms were partial, and they came too late. A severe Winter in 1788–9, following upon a failure of crops, aggravated the sufferings of the people. Starving men do not stay to reason as to the causes of their misery. The Government convened the States-General for the fifth of May. In the long interval since the last meeting in 1614, royal proclamations had taken the place of laws. No representative body existed. The Parliament of Paris, and the thirteen Provincial Parliaments, had been suppressed in 1771. They were merely privileged assemblies of landowners and lawyers, nominated by the Crown, whose edicts they servilely registered whenever a Bed of Justice was held. The Press was muzzled, and open discussion of public affairs was forbidden. Yet, with a crisis impending, and on the eve of the assembly, the privileged orders boldly demanded the maintenance of every one of their iniquitous and odious monopolies. The gay and volatile world of Paris, and the wealthy nobles throughout France, went on piping and dancing towards their doom. It came sooner than they expected. The States-General consisted of 285 nobles, 308 clergy, and 621 representatives of the Third Estate, or the Commons. In that famous assembly, largely composed of the lower class of lawyers, of country *curés*, and of provincial traders and agriculturists, Jacques Bonhomme—emaciated, suffering, determined, resentful —gazed upon the Marquis de Carabas, representing the purse-proud, swaggering, scented nobles who had so long trampled upon the poor. On June 17, the Third Estate, joined by most of the clerical deputies, declared itself the National, or, as it is commonly known, the Constituent Assembly. Thus the tocsin of revolution was sounded. The storm soon became a tornado. The Bastille was captured July 14. Only seven prisoners were found ; but the gloomy pile was the embodiment of a system that aroused intense hatred. Its horrors were depicted by Cowper, in ' The Task,' in 1785, with a poetic fervour that was a prediction of its downfall. The lines were

quoted by Fox with much effect in the House of Commons.

Matters were carried to an extremity when the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man' was promulgated, August 18, 1789—though its leading principles are now accepted by most Englishmen—with offers of fraternity and assistance to all peoples who wished to recover their liberty; when this was followed by an armed propagandism of Revolutionary dogmas, and an avowed purpose to compel other nations to adopt the same course; and when, in June, 1791, the royal family became prisoners. The interval had witnessed personal and faction contests; setting up and overthrowing futile schemes; the flight of the nobles; scenes of violence, plunder, and lawlessness; and the subversion of the Legislative Assembly, which was merged into the Convention, in September, 1792. The condition of the country was desperate, and the remedies applied were searching and drastic. Many of them remained, amidst subsequent dynastic fluctuations, although, in the irony of Fate, the credit was assumed by Napoleon Bonaparte. The members of the Assembly abolished primogeniture; made taxation equal; annulled feudal privileges; divided France into eighty-three departments for executive purposes; put an end to the sale of offices, with the monopolies on salt and other articles; emancipated trade and industry; threw open all civil and military employments; cancelled the power of arbitrary arrest; improved and made public the administration of justice; introduced the jury system; swept away exceptional tribunals and shameful privileges and exemptions; granted universal suffrage and liberty of worship; and appropriated Church lands to national and secular uses. Then followed the Reign of Terror: the Paris mob, affecting to speak and act in the name of the whole of France, and always excitable and capricious, being led by a handful of bold and unscrupulous men, who, among other atrocities, brought about the execution of Louis XVI. and his wife, and of a host of illustrious and innocent victims. It was the old story of tyranny arousing blind revenge, and of liberty degenerating into license.

At the outset, however, the struggle for freedom was

watched with intense sympathy in England and in America. Many saw in it the dawn of a new era. Robert Hall, the great Baptist preacher, expressed in his stately rhetoric the march of events in 1791 :—"The empire of darkness and of despotism has been smitten with a stroke which has sounded through the universe." Enthusiasts, self-seekers, and advocates of change for its own sake, hailed the outbreak, with no definite conception of what it involved, and sent frothy messages of congratulation. But the prevailing opinion in England was adverse, heedless of the fact that the example of this country was being emulated by the French, who were asserting their just rights in striving for constitutional government. Hatred of the French became once more the ruling passion ; as insanely as in the days of Edward III. and Henry V. The aggressive spirit of the Republic and the Consulate, and the intervention of a French force in Ireland in 1796–7, intensified the feeling. It was fostered by the ruling powers, as a means of diverting men's minds from complaints and grievances ; and it served to prop up every existing abuse by rendering whatever professed to be the cause of Reform suspected, unpopular, and odious, as tending to anarchy. The object sought in the panic was to exclude from the country what were called Revolutionary principles, lest people should be led to adopt them in order to escape from intolerable sufferings and wrongs. Events in France furnished an endless supply of dreadful images, prejudiced analogies, and opprobrious nicknames, which are as conclusive with the ignorant and the timid as if they were valid arguments. Sydney Smith might well include the stock phrase of "the awful example of a neighbouring nation" among the standing topics of 'Noodle's Oration.' The epithet of Jacobin, in an odious sense, was applied to all who advocated justice and liberty, or who dared to differ from the authorities in Church and State. Parliamentary Reform was ripe for settlement, but was shelved for forty years. Even the voice of William Wilberforce, pleading for the slave, was mute for several years, at the special instigation of his friend Pitt.

The feeling aroused in England is shown by the fact that the great Edmund Burke was carried away on

a flood-tide of indignation. His diatribes against the French were aroused by panic and inflamed by passion. He publicly renounced, in King Cambyses' vein, his old associates, in a memorable scene on May 6, 1791, such as the House of Commons never witnessed before or since. He had been gradually becoming estranged for several years. Not that he deserves the epithets of apostate and traitor, which have been so freely applied to him. He was a man of fine imagination and of subtle reflection, but not of sound practical judgment or of rigid political principle. His deep feeling, his strong antipathies, his excessive sensibility, and his partisanship often led him astray, as did the excursions of his genius. Politics he held to be a system of checks, counterpoises, limitations, and compromises. In modern phrase, he would be called an Opportunist. He belonged to the great historic school of which Montesquieu was the founder. His cardinal doctrine was that the application of general principles must be determined by the actual circumstances of the times. He was always somewhat fixed in his opinions, and opposed to organic changes. He did not believe in the wisdom of the uninformed many, or in abstract theories of government.

It is essential to remember all this when perusing the 'Reflections on the French Revolution.' That great work was issued in 1790, after a laborious incubation of twelve months, and nearly two years prior to the atrocities of the French Commune. It made a profound impression, not only in England, but on the Continent and in America. Many thousands of copies were speedily sold, and it was eagerly read by friends and foes. It contains marvellous passages, that will live as long as the language. Few books on politics have attained to such wide popularity, or have exerted so much influence. It has met with the noblest panegyric and the severest censure. Apart from the immediate object, its distinguishing principles, its special pleading, and its inherent fallacies, it is a wonderful production, abounding in political wisdom and prescience, and it exhibits Burke at his best, as well as at his worst. He created an ideal world, where he dwelt in the midst of chimerical alarms.

the dupe of his own enchantments, and starting, like Prospero, at the dread spectres called forth by his vivid fancy. By his brilliant tropes and figures he so dazzled many readers that they could not distinguish between a just freedom and its excess, or between reform and revolution, or between anarchy and despotism. John Morley remarks :—"The great army of the indolent good, the people who lead excellent lives and never use their reason, took violent alarm. The timorous, the weak-minded, the bigoted, were suddenly awakened to a sense of what they owed to themselves. Burke gave them the key which enabled them to interpret the Revolution in harmony with their usual ideas and their temperament." If Goldsmith had survived, he would have had additional reason for his famous epitaph on Burke, in 'Retaliation.'

The fallacy underlying Burke's 'Reflections,' and running through all his speeches and writings on the subject, is that he regarded solely the English Revolution of 1688, and was tacitly reducing all others to that standard. He assumed that revolution is unjustifiable without an actual violation of an existing compact between rulers and the governed. Strange to say, he overlooked the obvious fact that the English movement was to resist the encroachments of tyranny upon national liberties of ancient date, while the aim of the French was to obtain an initial measure of freedom long denied. It is melancholy to read the epithets of scorn, hatred, and vituperation which he drew from his copious vocabulary ; of which Buckle gives a catalogue ('History of Civilization,' i. 471-3). If words could blast, the French would have been scorched and shrivelled by his fury. Hazlitt says that he strewed the flowers of his rhetoric over the rotten carcase of corruption. Horrid phantoms haunted him. He saw only what was strange, abnormal, and appalling. Everything was viewed through a gloomy and distorting medium. Croaker, in 'The Good-Natured Man,' is ridiculous, not for thinking that earthquakes, conflagrations, and conspiracies are terrible, but for being so possessed by them as to fancy everything a sign of their approach. Burke urged the maintenance of war in order to compel the French people to change their Republican form of government and to restore the

monarchy. He renewed the attack again and again, in copious speeches and printed pamphlets. He was frantically cheered by those who had scouted his views on America; who had denounced his scheme of Economic Reform in 1782, gibed at his former proposals for religious toleration, hated his policy, and reviled his teaching. He avowed a hope that the war would be waged for purposes of punishment, and as a religious war:—"I speak it emphatically, and with a desire that it should be marked—in a long war!"

This almost diabolical utterance, with the final renunciation of his old political friends, is explicable by the mournful fact that his mind was unhinged by financial difficulties and domestic sorrows, especially by the impending death of his only son, the object of his fondest hopes. The defection won for him the approval of George III., who had for many years treated him with coldness and dislike, and refused to admit him into the Cabinet. He had been appointed to the third-rate though lucrative office of Paymaster in 1782, at the age of fifty-three, at a salary of four thousand pounds, and a pension of two thousand on the Irish establishment. To his honour, he brought in and carried a Bill, fixing the salary, instead of permitting himself and leaving future occupants to exact from twenty-five to forty thousand a year by interest on large balances, and by commissions on purchases and payments. In refusing these dubious emoluments, he followed and enlarged a precedent set by the elder Pitt during a brief tenure of the same office. Burke now received, after the lapse of twelve years, and as a reward for abandoning his old principles and friends, further pensions amounting to nearly four thousand pounds. It was actually proposed to make him a peer, but Death intervened, July 9, 1797, to spare his memory that crowning reproach. His gifts and virtues, his patriotism and statesmanship, his high character and transcendent powers, his adherence to what he held to be the right, and his burning hatred of oppression, will be gratefully cherished so long as the English name and nation endure; while his mistakes and failings demand merciful judgment. He was ably answered by Fox in the House of Commons; by Dr. Joseph Priestley;

by Thomas Paine (1737–1809), in his much-abused 'Rights of Man'; and by Sir James Mackintosh (1765–1832), in his 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ,' which placed him in the first rank of publicists at the early age of twenty-five. He subsequently modified, if he did not retract, his opinions; but few persons will now deny that his original judgment was correct. Arthur Young's 'Tours,' published in 1792, was even more effectual as a reply to Burke, being the testimony of an observant and impartial eye-witness. William Godwin (1756–1836), a quiet, amiable dreamer, maintaining through dark days a belief in the progress of the race and in the possibility of making politics national, also dealt with the broad issues raised by Burke.

The excesses in France sent a thrill of horror through the civilized world; but they were precipitated and intensified by the unwise interference of Austria and Prussia, against the wishes of the unfortunate Louis XVI. The minds of despotic rulers were disquieted by the spectacle of a nation rising against its tyrants. It was feared that the flame of liberty might spread, and consume neighbouring autocratic governments. Herein lay the origin of the coalition of reigning dynasties; whatever changes took place in the nature and objects of the conflict when it became a war of aggression and propagandism on the part of the Republic, followed by an attempt to set up a huge military despotism. Nothing is clearer than that France was attacked, at the outset, for the purpose of restoring the monarchy, in defiance of the right of any nation to manage its own affairs. The sequence of events must be regarded. Prussia and Austria issued the Declaration of Pilnitz in August, 1791, appealing to other potentates to join them in maintaining the French monarchy by force of arms, having first agreed upon a Partition Treaty between themselves. This was the real occasion of the war. Danton said, in one of his bold figures of speech,—"The coalesced kings threaten us. We hurl at their feet, as gage of battle, the head of a king!" On July 25, 1792, the Duke of Brunswick, at the head of 140,000 Austrians, Hessians, and Prussians, on the eve of invading France, issued a manifesto, drawn up by French

refugee nobles, and breathing the implacable hate that consumed them. It was designed to intimidate, but it only exasperated. One article demanded the instant release and restoration of Louis XVI.; threatened military trial and execution to all members of the National Assembly; and declared that Paris should be captured and given over to martial law, and be totally destroyed, if the least violence were offered to members of the royal family. An invasion of French territory immediately followed. The faubourgs of Paris replied by assailing the Tuileries, breaking open the prisons, and commencing a massacre. The King and Queen only came forth from captivity to mount a scaffold; the former on January 21, 1793, and the latter on the sixteenth of October. The people turned on their ancient oppressors and rent them, avenging the wrongs of centuries by savage butchery. These horrors and cruelties did not arise out of the Revolution, but from hatred of the conspiracy formed against it by crowned heads. As usual, the original grounds of quarrel were lost sight of or abandoned, in time, and other elements were imported, and other objects sought, while the enmity was exacerbated.

Inflammatory speeches were made in the English Parliament during these troublous and exciting times. The print-shops contained coarse and ferocious caricatures, which would not be tolerated in the present day. The pulpits resounded with denunciatory sermons of Jacobins and the French. The clerical artillery of prayers and texts was freely used. Even Burke remonstrated, on the obvious ground that in church one day's truce should be allowed to the dissensions and animosities of mankind. Coarse dialogues were printed between Jean Crapaud and John Bull; always to the advantage of the latter. Songs of defiance and insult were vociferously sung, the supposed patriotism being more manifest than the poetry or the melody. The Press teemed with pamphlets, burlesques, and satires, couched in offensive language towards France. Its ambassador was ordered to quit London in January, 1793. The English representative had been recalled from Paris the preceding August. As Madame de Staël (1766–1819) remarked,

England, which has dethroned, banished, or executed more kings than all the rest of Europe, was suddenly seized with so great a horror of regicides as not to tolerate the presence of a French envoy. Offers of negotiation were spurned; and so the French Convention anticipated the English Government by a declaration of war, on February 1, 1793. The chief blame rests with Pitt, whose policy, entered upon with extreme reluctance, and against his deliberate judgment, after proclaiming, down to the close of 1792, a neutrality that was, without question, sincere, wantonly plunged his country into a conflict that lasted, with only a slight break, for more than twenty years; burdened it with accumulated taxes and an enormous debt; ruined trade and commerce; forced bread to famine prices; aggravated pauperism; sacrificed hecatombs of victims; made many thousands widows and fatherless; and involved the whole of Europe in turmoil and strife.

CHAPTER LXXV.

THE GREAT WAR WITH FRANCE.

A.D. 1793–1815.

THE history of the war is a melancholy narrative. One hundred and thirty pitched battles were fought in Europe between 1793 and 1815, besides numerous naval engagements. Howe, Nelson, Cornwallis, Duncan, Saumerez, Jervis, Collingwood, and other admirals, achieved great renown in the Mediterranean and in the West Indies. The latter islands had a high commercial value, one-fourth of British foreign trade being carried on with them. Successes on the ocean, however, were counterbalanced for a long time by failure and disaster on land. The Allies were defeated at Jemappes, November 6, 1792; at Dunkirk, September 7 and 8, 1793; at Charleroi, June 26, 1794; at Loano, November 23, 1795, and elsewhere during those years. In other engagements, mostly subordinate, they were victors. The

Duke of York had the misfortune to lose three battles; and Toulon was evacuated by the British, December 17, 1793. The military and administrative genius of Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821), a Corsican by birth, but of Italian lineage and temperament, triumphed over the Allies in the field, and over faction in France. After his brilliant campaign against the Austrians, in Italy, in 1796–7, and his expedition to Egypt in 1798, he swept aside and superseded in the following year the feeble Directory, and became First Consul by an overwhelming popular vote. The inevitable terminus of anarchy is despotism. One of his early acts was to submit a proposal for peace, in a letter to George III.; at the same time that he caused moderate and pacific views to be made known to all foreign Powers. The overture was contemptuously rejected by England; and perhaps there were grounds for the opinion that the proposal was insincere. He set himself at once to re-conquer Italy, which had been overrun by the Austrians and Russians during his campaign in Egypt. The success of the latter enterprise depended upon his communications with France being kept open, with a view to threatening the English possessions in India; but Nelson's (1758–1805) great achievement in the Battle of the Nile, August 1, 1798, had the decisive effect of destroying those communications and frustrating his purpose for the time.

Napoleon firmly believed in himself, or in what he was accustomed to speak of as his star of destiny. He held—plagiarizing a well known phrase from Voltaire—that Providence is always on the side of big battalions; just as his taunt of the English, as being "a nation of shopkeepers," was derived from Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations.' The Battles of Marengo (June 14, 1800), of Hochstadt (June 19), of Hohenlinden (December 3), and of Mincio (December 26), in all of which the Austrians were routed, destroyed any hope of preventing his ascendency in European affairs. Sir Ralph Abercromby's victory at Alexandria, March 21, 1801, and Nelson's bombardment of Copenhagen, April 2, could not arrest the progress of events or dissipate the terror of Bonaparte's name. The war had failed to accomplish the original design of the Allies; and they fell away from

the Coalition. The enormous expenses, heavy taxes, and crippled commerce were a heavy drain upon England. Pitt seized upon the difference between himself and the King on the subject of Catholic Emancipation in Ireland, as furnishing a colourable pretext for resigning. With his connivance and support, the feeble Addington Ministry came into office, from March, 1801, to May, 1804. Canning said, in his biting manner, "Pitt is to Addington as London is to Paddington." By his temporary withdrawal he escaped the humiliation of having to admit that his vast Continental plans had signally failed; but his proud spirit chafed under the knowledge, and he was never himself again.

The Treaty of Amiens, negotiated during the Winter by Lord Cornwallis, was concluded March 27, 1802. By this arrangement, the French were to withdraw from Naples and the Roman States. Egypt was restored to Turkey. The integrity of Portugal was secured; the Cape of Good Hope became a free port; Malta was to be restored to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who had held it for more than two centuries and a half against the Turks, but had been forced to surrender their island-fortress to the French in 1798. England relinquished all her conquests of the past ten years, with the exception of Ceylon and Trinidad. It was really an armed truce; but the country needed repose, being exhausted both in men and in money. The mutiny in the fleets at Spithead and the Nore, in 1797, owing to the semi-starvation and the brutal treatment of the sailors, with the horrors and cruelty of crimping and of the press-gangs, showed how unpopular the war had become. Attempts made by Tipu Sáhib, with the assistance of the French, to shake off the British yoke from Mysore, were finally defeated by the storming of Seringapatam, in 1799, by Colonel Arthur Wellesley (1769–1852), afterwards Duke of Wellington, brother of the Marquis of Wellesley, then Governor-General. This early promise of military renown was strengthened four years later by the Battles of Assaye and of Argaum, which broke the power of the Marhattás, who had been so troublesome to Warren Hastings. The hold of the British upon Central and Upper India was secured. The policy of annexation,

begun by Lord Wellesley, was extended by later Governors-General, especially by the Marquis of Hastings, Lords Auckland, Ellenborough, and Dalhousie, so that the original narrow fringe of territory grew into an absolute empire over a mighty continent, with nearly three hundred millions of people, including protected States.

Napoleon was declared Consul for life, August 2, 1802, and became monarch of France in all but the name. Two years later, he was crowned Emperor by Pope Pius VII. (b. 1742, r. 1800-1823). Preparations for a renewal of hostilities were being made in England as well as by himself. One reason assigned was the refusal to reinstate the Knights of St. John in Malta. The Maltese resisted the transfer, and the stronghold was invaluable to England. The conflict was resumed in May, 1803, after a new Coalition by England with Prussia, Austria, and Sweden. The weakness of the Addington Cabinet led to the retirement of its nominal head; a dull, plodding mechanical clerk nicknamed the Doctor, from his father being a physician. Not a single member of his Cabinet ranked higher than a second or third-rate politician; and its head was no more competent to preside over the national affairs at such a crisis than Phaeton to drive the chariot of the sun. He was consoled with a peerage, and figures henceforth as Viscount Sidmouth (1755-1844). It was said of him that he carried into politics the air of a village apothecary inspecting the tongue of the State. He was as stupid and as bigoted as his royal master. Pitt was again installed as Prime Minister in May, 1804, for the short remainder of his life; but his colleagues were feeble and divided. He tried in vain to include Fox. The King would not hear of him, stating that Fox was kept out of office by his express command, and that he "had taken a positive determination not to admit him, even at the hazard of civil war." On another occasion, when his customary bluster about not wearing his crown subject to shackles, failed of its purpose, he sullenly yielded, to avoid a crisis; and once, when he talked of retiring to Hanover because he could not have his own dogged way, a confidential adviser suggested that it might not be so easy for him to return. Nothing more was

heard of the tentative abdication. In the case of the refusal to accept Fox, Pitt did not show himself eager or firm in pressing it; so an avowed Tory administration entered upon what proved to be, with brief interruption, a long lease of power.

Napoleon began a new career of aggression, of conquest, and of annexation, which changed the entire character of the war, and compelled resistance to what threatened to be a military despotism over Europe. One of his arbitrary acts, contrary to the usages of warfare among civilized nations, was the detention of foreigners domiciled or travelling in France at the time of the renewal of the conflict, causing much loss and suffering to many non-combatants. Another course of procedure that aroused deep resentment was his habit of appropriating the archives and works of art in subjugated countries, and transporting them to Paris as spoils. They had to be surrendered and restored after Waterloo. He again invaded Austria in 1805; captured a whole army at Ulm; took possession of Vienna, and won the decisive Battle of Austerlitz, December 2, against the combined Austrian and Russian forces. But the naval power of France was shattered in the action off Cape Trafalgar, on the twenty-first of October; though Nelson fell in the moment of victory, as his great predecessor, Blake, had done. The battle was the final act in a strategic drama in which Napoleon and Nelson, the two greatest leaders of land and sea forces, were pitted against each other. Napoleon's aim was to unite in the West Indies the French fleets of Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort, together with a strong body of Spanish ships, so as to constitute an overwhelming force with which to return to the English Channel, and cover the crossing of his army for an intended invasion. Nelson pursued the Toulon fleet across the Atlantic, and chased it back to Cadiz, while Brest was being held in the tenacious grip of a blockade by another English fleet. On his return, he forced and won the engagement off Trafalgar; pursuing his favourite tactical method, adopted from Admiral Rodney, of attacking in column, so as to break the line, and then laying his ships alongside those of the enemy; a method largely depending on the wind and on skilful seamanship, but no

longer possible under the altered conditions of the Navy, with its steam-power. The whole subject of the naval contests of the last century and of the influence of the sea-power on history is ably treated in the works of Captain A. T. Mahan, of the United States Navy. Nelson's crowning victory led Napoleon to abandon the invasion of England for the series of movements that resulted in his victories at Ulm and at Austerlitz.

Pitt's health had long been failing, and he never rallied from the effects of the Continental reverses. He died January 23, 1806, in his forty-seventh year. The melodramatic narrative of some dubious utterance at the last, respecting his country, was but a reproduction for party purposes of what had been said long before by Pope. His debts, amounting to forty thousand pounds, were paid by the nation; but there are other vices than the sordid love of money, and other virtues besides that of dying poor. His colleagues were too feeble to carry on the government; and so, with much reluctance and chagrin, the King had to yield for a few months to a Whig Cabinet under Lord Grenville, with Fox as Foreign Secretary. It is commonly known as All-the-Talents Ministry. But Fox died September 13, and was buried near to Pitt, his old rival, in Westminster Abbey, styled by Macaulay "that great temple of silence and reconciliation." The almost idolatrous attachment of his friends and followers is explained by his kindly disposition, his equable temper, and his winning manner, realizing Addison's famous description of agreeableness. Fox excelled most of his contemporaries in the range of his knowledge; in the distinctness of his views; in quickness of apprehension; in practical common sense; and in his lucid arrangement of facts; though it has been said he was ostentatiously ignorant of political economy; a reproach which, if true, applies to many others. Burke remarked of him, at a time when the testimony was of the utmost value: "To his great and masterly understanding he joined the utmost possible degree of moderation. He was of the most artless, candid, open, and benevolent disposition; disinterested in the extreme; of a temper mild and placable, even to a fault; and without one drop of gall in his constitution." Among his greatest

speeches were those on the Westminster Election Scrutiny, in 1784; on the Russian armament, in 1791; on Parliamentary Reform, in 1797; and on the renewal of the French War, in 1803. His coalition with Lord North, whom he had strenuously opposed, and whose policy remained unchanged, is wholly indefensible, excepting on the low ground of party tactics, which also prompted most of his opposition to Pitt. It is painful to reflect upon what Fox might have been, and upon the influence he might have exerted, if only his character and habits had inspired even a moderate degree of public respect. Yet his defence of popular rights during the dismal period of repression at the close of the century will always be remembered to his honour; for, with Erskine, he helped to keep alive the sacred fire of liberty when it was threatened with extinction.

Within six months of Fox's death, George III. dismissed his Cabinet, on the Catholic question; only too glad to reinstate the Tories under the Duke of Portland, whose Ministry, ridiculed as that of All-the-Hacks, lasted till November, 1809. He was followed by Spencer Perceval (1762–1812), a feeble, narrow, intolerant, and incapable man, of the Nisi Prius order of lawyers. Concerning him Sydney Smith (1769–1845) said, in his 'Letters of Peter Plymley,' that in the crisis of Europe, he safely brought the Curates' Salaries' Improvement Bill to a hearing. He was shot by a madman, May 11, 1812, in the lobby of the House of Commons; securing thereby a singular apotheosis, unmerited by his character and abilities. The Earl of Liverpool (1770–1828), who was obstinately opposed to every change tending to political or religious liberty, became head of the Cabinet, and continued to fill the office until stricken with apoplexy. Bonaparte pursued his marvellous and victorious career. Prussia was disabled by the Battles of Auerstadt and Jena, October 18, 1806. Berlin was seized, and the famous Decrees were issued in November, with a view to close every avenue into Europe against the trade of England, which was declared in a state of siege, in retaliation for her rigorous blockade of several hundred miles of French coast. The plan failed, from its very magnitude; for it was impossible to build a Chinese wall

around Europe, or to maintain an unbroken line of custom-houses from the Baltic along the German Ocean and the Mediterranean. The attempt to crush British commerce, and the general designs of Napoleon on the Continent, where he aimed at a universal dictatorship, explain the detestation and hatred with which he was regarded by the English, who nicknamed him Boney, the Armed Soldier of Democracy, the Little Corporal, and similar names. Gillray caricatured him in endless ways. He was the favourite bogey used to terrify children. The nation would hear of nothing short of the absolute and final overthrow of the Man of Destiny.

Difficulties arose between England and the United States. Their vessels were stopped, and sometimes captured, by both French and English on the high seas. When searched by British ships, all on board suspected of having being born on British soil were impressed into the naval service; a loose application of the old doctrine, "once a subject always a subject." American war-ships were not exempted. No respect was paid to the flag. The laws of nations were ignored. Claims for indemnity and demands for reparation were unheeded. In retaliation, British ships were forbidden to enter American harbours. The irritating search of vessels and seizure of men continued at intervals until April, 1812, when an embargo was imposed by Congress, preparatory to a declaration of war against Great Britain in the following July. Canada was invaded at Detroit and at Niagara. York, now called Toronto, was captured; and there were partial successes elsewhere; but an attack upon Montreal failed. The Americans won several sea engagements, and repulsed attempts made by the English upon Boston, New York, Baltimore, New Orleans, and other places on the coast, although the blockade maintained against them was productive of much loss. The short but brilliant engagement in Delaware Bay, June 1, 1813, between the American frigate "Chesapeake" and the British "Shannon," ending in the capture of the former, was for a long period the theme of naval song and story. Peace was concluded in 1815, and the right of the Americans to resist the search of their vessels was conceded. Twelve years earlier, the vast territory west of

the Mississippi, known as Louisiana, comprising nearly twelve hundred thousand square miles, was sold by Napoleon to the United States for fifteen millions of dollars. No further difficulty arose with the States, until the question of the boundary line with Canada, which was finally settled in 1842 by Lord Ashburton. If he conceded in Maine more than was natural and obvious, geographically, England gained some important points in the West, and finally ended a troublesome dispute. The original area of the Republic was 829,000 square miles. Florida was ceded in 1819, Texas was annexed in 1845, Mexico was acquired subsequently, and Alaska was purchased from Russia in 1867. These, and some minor additions bring the United States territory up to four millions of square miles, one-tenth being lakes and rivers.

Though Napoleon failed in enforcing the Berlin Decrees, he was successful in the Polish campaigns of 1806–7; resulting in the Treaty of Tilsit and his compact with Russia and Prussia. By agreeing to this the Czar Alexander I. showed his resentment towards England for not acceding to his insatiable demands for subsidies, like all the Continental despots during the prolonged war. England as the chief paymaster, asserted an influence and an authority which were sometimes resisted; as in the case of the Danes, in September, 1807. To prevent a capture of their fleet at Copenhagen by Napoleon, an expedition was sent from England to destroy it, unless the ships were made over till the close of the war. As the Danes refused, the city was a second time bombarded for three days, with terrible destruction to life and property. The vessels and naval stores were seized. Sweden also was powerless, when left to itself; and Gustavus IV. was displaced in favour of his uncle, Charles XIII. He adopted, as Crown Prince, Bernadotte, one of the French marshals, who, however, did not prove subservient to Napoleon's schemes. Jerome Bonaparte had a kingdom of Westphalia carved out for him; another brother, Louis, was made titular King of Holland; and a third brother, Joseph, was placed on the throne of Spain. This act, with the invasion of Portugal, marked the turning-point in Napoleon's triumphant

career, and led to the Peninsular War. The pride, jealousy, and greed of the so-called patriots in Madrid and elsewhere perpetually thwarted British movements and wasted British life and treasure, in spite of the early successes of Sir Arthur Wellesley. The unfortunate and disastrous retreat of Sir John Moore to Corunna, with his death, on January 16, 1809, and the still more disastrous and the disgraceful termination of the Walcheren Expedition in December, owing to jealousy between the naval and military commanders, did much to neutralize the effects of the Spanish campaign. At the same time, the scandal caused by a mistress of the Duke of York (1763–1827) selling army commissions, with his connivance, as was alleged, led to his enforced retirement from the office of Commander-in-chief. He was reinstated in the following year by his brother, in defiance of public opinion. The mistresses of the Regent were guilty of similar mal-practices. High positions in Church and State were sold, or granted as rewards for dubious services. Twenty years later, the eccentricity, the incompetence, and the extravagance of another brother, the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV., compelled his dismissal from the office of Lord High Admiral, which has ever since been administered by a Board.

Napoleon had been recalled from the Peninsula by a renewed declaration of war on the part of Austria. The Battles of Aspern, of Essling, and of Wagram in May and July, 1809, brought about the Treaty of Schönbrunn, whereby Austria ceded Trieste and other districts to France, with two millions and a half of people. Their consent was not asked, and was not deemed necessary. Despots are accustomed in such cases to regard their subjects as mere pawns. The brave Tyrolese were abandoned to their fate. A large army was thus set free for the Spanish enterprise; but Wellington proceeded to carry out at enormous labour, time, and cost, his great scheme for entrenching himself within the lines of Torres Vedras, so as to protect Lisbon, and in the hope of wearing out the superior French forces. For many months the campaign in the Peninsula was continued with alternating successes, though chiefly on the side of the English. To this period belong the Battles of

Barrosa, of Albuera, and of Salamanca, with the horrible atrocities attending the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo and of Badajoz, in 1812, of which no Englishman can read without shame and humiliation, any more than he can of the wanton bombardment of Alexandria, in July, 1882, by Sir Beauchamp Seymour, who was rewarded with a peerage and a pension by the Gladstone Ministry. The loss of life during the prolonged War is not known, and cannot be ascertained ; but it was greater from the attendant horrors of disease and famine than from actual fatalities on the numerous battlefields, or from the carnage of sea-engagements, terrible as these were. With the old flint-lock musket, accuracy of aim was impossible. It was roughly estimated that of all the shots fired by the English and Spanish troops during the Peninsular campaigns, only one in six hundred inflicted any damage ; and that for every foe slain, his weight in bullets had to be expended. This presents a marked contrast with modern arms of precision, and with the deadly machines which rain a shower of bullets every minute, and mow down hundreds at each discharge.

The Peninsular War was left by Napoleon to be carried on by his marshals. He was busily occupied in vast preparations for invading Russia, to punish Alexander I. for having relaxed the Continental System, and for more than suspected treachery to the armed compact. Napoleon's action was contrary to the advice of his best friends and his most experienced generals ; but he was determined upon a course that precipitated his overthrow. Probably the occult disease which proved fatal clouded his judgment and weakened his powers. With an army of 270,000 French, many of them mere lads, drawn by conscription from future years, and with 150,000 troops levied from various nationalities unwillingly in league with him, he entered Russia in June, 1812. The Czar adopted a Fabian policy. His Cossacks hung on the skirts of the invaders ; but no decisive battle could be forced. Moscow was abandoned and burned in September, on the approach of the French. The difficulties of obtaining supplies for such a host became insuperable. Famine, cold, and sickness cut down thousands daily. A retreat was ordered ; but before it could

be completed, the horrors of a Russian Winter broke forth. Of more than half a million of men, including reinforcements, who had crossed the Niemen, not one-fourth returned six months later. Marshal Ney was in command of the rear-guard; and but for his skill and valour many more must have perished. Napoleon left the army early in December, and set forth with all speed to Paris. Political difficulties had arisen; the state of affairs in Spain occasioned grave anxiety; Russia and Prussia had again coalesced against him; and Austria, after holding aloof, joined them and England in a new alliance. Wellington routed the French at Vittoria in June, 1813, and after a series of conflicts known as the Battles of the Pyrenees, drove them back and went into Winter quarters in the French valleys. Another series of battles occurred in Saxony; resulting, on the whole, in great loss to Napoleon. He was threatened early in 1814 by a force of 160,000 Russians, Austrians, and Prussians, who were prepared to cross the Rhine, while Wellington was about to advance from the South.

France was exhausted and impoverished, both in men and in materials of war. Napoleon abdicated, April 5, and was assigned the island of Elba, in the Mediterranean, as a residence, with a revenue of six millions of francs to be paid by France. The Bourbons were restored in the person of Louis XVIII.; and by the Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814, the French boundaries were fixed as on the first of January, 1792. Malta was ceded to England, and arrangements were made for a Congress at Vienna. While engaged in reconstructing on dynastic lines the map of Europe, as if it were a child's puzzle, news came that Napoleon had escaped from Elba, and was on his way to Paris. The magic of his name gathered numbers of his old soldiers—for Chauvinism prevailed among the veterans of the First Empire—and he speedily found himself at the head of 125,000 troops. He marched into Belgium, from which side the Allies were preparing an attack. He hoped to anticipate them by striking a bold and decisive blow, as he had so often done; and by separating the Prussians, under Marshal Blücher, from the English and the other Allies under Wellington, to defeat both. Blücher had to fall back at Ligny, with a

loss of twelve thousand men ; but the attack at Quatre Bras was repulsed. The English awaited the final battle at Waterloo on Sunday, June 18, 1815, and it was fought all day with obstinate courage, neither side gaining any advantage, though Wellington held his ground against a superior force. In the evening, the Prussians arrived on the field, and a combined movement was made, ending in complete victory. Napoleon abdicated a second time ; and was sent to St. Helena, where he died, May 5, 1821, in the fifty-second year of his age. Louis XVIII. was again installed as King of France.

The allied monarchs once more addressed themselves, so far as petty jealousy and rivalry would allow, to the congenial tasks of dividing the plunder, of strengthening their own authority, and of taking precautionary measures against popular risings in the future. By the second Treaty of Paris, November 20, 1815, the limits of France were once more restricted ; seventeen frontier fortresses were to be held by the Allies for five years ; an army of occupation, consisting of 150,000 men, was to be maintained at the expense of France ; and £56,000,000 were to be paid towards the expenses of the war. The conduct of the great European Powers, excepting England, showed that territorial aggrandizement and despotic rule were the real objects sought throughout. Whole provinces were bartered away, and their inhabitants transferred from one despot to another. The Holy Alliance –a wicked misnomer, like the equally infamous Holy League of 1511— was designed for the maintenance of kingly absolutism, which it invested with the sanctity of religion, as was ably demonstrated by Francis Horner in a debate in the House of Commons, early in the Session of 1816. The first thing done was to conspire against the liberties of the people. To this may be traced most of the armed suppressions of popular rights which the history of Europe has since witnessed. Russia and Austria finally partitioned Poland between them. Austria ruthlessly stamped out the independence of Hungary, and held Italy for thirty years as in a vice of military terrorism. The treatment of Silvio Pellico (1789-1854) was only one instance out of thousands. That illustrious man and true patriot, author of 'Francesca da Rimini,' and

other works, and the translator into Italian of Byron's 'Manfred,' was arrested in Milan in 1820, for editing a Liberal newspaper. He was consigned to a living tomb in the fortress of Spielberg for ten years, mostly alone, and in chains, ill-fed and ill-clad, deprived of books, and cut off from all knowledge of his family and of public affairs. This horrible treatment of Italy's best and noblest sons, numbers of whom were incarcerated for months and years without trial, in the hope, accomplished in many cases, that the dark dungeon, starvation, fetters, and torture might impose the silence of Death, with flogging and nameless indignities upon the wives and sisters of the victims of military despotism, was continued by Austria until the Revolution of 1848 led eventually to the unification and deliverance of Italy.

Imperialism, however, was by no means extinct in France. It was afterwards intensified and strengthened by the manner in which the walls of the picture-galleries at Versailles, in the Louvre, the Luxembourg, and elsewhere were covered with gigantic and highly-coloured delineations of battle-scenes, arousing the national thirst for glory. It was further gratified by the great work of M. Thiers (1797-1877), 'Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire,' which did much to pave the way for the temporary and meretricious return of the Emperor's nephew, thirty-three years later. Even the warmest admirers of Thiers have never contended that he was animated by a scrupulous love of truth; or that he was a careful collector of facts; or that he possessed the critical power to judge of them when collected. In all these respects, as in the high qualities of statesmanship, he was inferior to his great rival, Guizot (1787-1874), whose political career was a splendid disaster, because he knew books better than men. The Revolution of 1848 was precipitated by his unwise action, as prime minister, in forbidding a banquet in Paris to advance electoral reform and to secure the right of holding public meetings. Of the writings of Thiers, the cynical criticism pronounced by Robert Lowe (Viscount Sherbrooke) was that every sentence is a complete answer to its neighbour, with this peculiar felicity, that he contrives to lay down contrary propositions on the same subject, both of which are false.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

FISCAL BURDENS AND THE ACT OF UNION.

A.D. 1793–1820.

No figures can set forth the cost of the great French War; in the deterioration of industry, in the checks to trade and commerce, as well as in the actual money expended, the property destroyed, the lives lost, and the bodies maimed. It is commonly asserted that the gigantic efforts made at the time were principally at the expense of the lords of the soil. If their condition had been one of sacrifice and privation, some valid reason would appear; but it is notorious that, owing to inflated prices, rents were more than doubled. The landed class also largely shared in the enormous profits attending the issue of repeated loans at a heavy discount. Members of their families were gratified with commissions in the swollen Army and Navy. Military and naval commanders received peerages and pensions. To the Duke of Wellington was voted £400,000, in addition to former grants and to his large pay, prize-money, and other emoluments. The estate of Strathfieldsaye was purchased for him at a cost of £200,000. An annuity of £4,000 was granted for three lives, besides lucrative posts, including sinecures, as long as the Duke lived. It was estimated that he received upwards of two millions during his long career, in addition to handsome gifts from foreign princes. Nelson was voted £2,000 a year after the Battle of the Nile, in 1798; to be continued during the lives of two of his successors in the title of baron, he being already in receipt of a pension of one thousand for the victory off Cape St. Vincent. He was awarded £1,000 more by the Irish Parliament, and £10,000 as a gift by the East India Company. For his services in expelling the French from Naples, he had permission to accept from its King a great landed estate worth £3,000 per annum, with the Dukedom of Bronté. After his death at Trafalgar, an annuity of £2,000 was settled on his widow, who enjoyed it for twenty-six years; £5,000 were granted in perpetuity to the distant relative who succeeded to the title; and

£90,000 were specially voted to purchase an estate and as jointure for his two sisters and niece. The annuity of £5,000 is still paid to Earl Nelson, and will continue to be enjoyed—unless it be commuted, as in other cases—as long as the title remains in existence. A similar remark applies to the descendants of Admiral Lord Rodney, who was granted £2,000 in perpetuity in 1782; as were like sums to Viscount Combermere and to Viscount Exmouth in 1814 and 1816. Many other naval and military men received titles and pensions. By way of contrast, Sir Humphry Davy was awarded a baronetcy, after some delay and quibbling, for his invention of the miners' safety-lamp, at the same time that the inventor of the Congreve war-rocket received a pension of £1,200. Davy's invaluable contributions to science in connection with chemistry, anæsthetics, and electricity, never received recognition from the State.

The burden of the war was largely transmitted to posterity. On January 5, 1810, the National Debt was £885,186,323, or nearly four times the amount at which it stood at the close of the American War of Independence, and seven times more than in 1700. The taxes from 1793 to 1810, irrespective of loans, amounted to £1,120,000,000; an average of nearly fifty millions per annum, whereas the total expenditure in 1792 was under twenty. This is exclusive of the cost of collection, which, under the system then in vogue, was deducted from the sums paid into the Exchequer. Most of the loans were raised on stringent and wasteful terms for the nation, as is shown in Fenn's treatise on the Funds, while highly lucrative to money-jobbers, speculators, and fund-holders. In 1797, for instance, a loan of £14,500,000 was obtained by giving, for each hundred pounds actually paid, £175 of Three per Cent. Consols, with twenty of Four per Cent., and an annuity of six shillings for sixty-three years. Another loan was raised by an issue of £219 Three per Cents. for each hundred. In the following year, seventeen millions were obtained for exactly double the sum in Consols, with an annuity of four shillings and eleven pence for sixty-two years. Other large sums were borrowed from time to time on conditions more or less onerous and costly. Taking the whole period of the war,

the average was £169 of debt for each hundred actually borrowed. J. R. MacCulloch (1789 1804) affirms that, owing to the method of funding, the country has been paying ever since for interest from six to seven millions annually more than was just or needful. A partial adjustment, but at the expense of existing bondholders, was made in 1887, when Mr. G. J. Goschen was Chancellor of the Exchequer, the rate of interest being reduced from 3 to 2¾ per cent., with the option of redemption. From February, 1797, to May, 1819, cash payments were suspended, under an Order in Council, disturbing the money-market, and deranging industry and commerce.

The enormous war expenses involved perpetual turns of the screw of taxation. The financial ingenuity of the Exchequer, like that of Jeremy Diddler, in Kenny's farce of 'Raising the Wind,' was tasked in devising fresh methods. The ten per cent. Income Tax of 1799, estimated to yield ten millions, did not produce more than seven. As usual, those most able to bear the burden shifted it as much as possible upon those below them. A marvellous adhesive and cohesive capacity is always shown for public plunder. When Pitt proposed, in 1796, to levy a tax on collateral succession to real estate, the landed interest, always acting in the selfish spirit described in Chapter LXIII., strenuously resisted the measure, and it had to be withdrawn. They succeeded in evading it until 1853, and even then, Gladstone could carry it only in a modified form. The principle was extended in Sir W. V. Harcourt's Budget of 1894, by what are known as Death Duties. Throughout the war, however, the chief burden was thrown upon the poor, by heavy taxes upon every necessary of life. Six-sevenths of the money raised came from Customs and Excise duties upon numberless articles of daily consumption; so that the toiling multitudes were made to suffer for the relief of the rich, by being indirectly taxed out of all proportion to their means of subsistence. Salt, for example, on which a duty had been levied to a small extent for a hundred and fifty years, was made to bear an impost of 15s. a bushel, or £30 a ton. The only thing comparable to this is the enormous duty on salt in India at the present day. Millions of people, whose sole food is rice,

are compelled to buy this necessary condiment at a price enhanced far beyond its market value, out of the few pence earned weekly for the support of their families. During the French War, taxes were levied on everything eaten, worn, and used, from the cradle to the grave, in addition to a formidable increase of the assessed taxes. There were heavy imposts on raw materials and on every article manufactured from them; on articles of prime necessity as well of luxury and adornment; on buildings and on the light of Heaven; on toys and medicines; on travelling and the carriage of goods; on professions, business, and trade. Sydney Smith's enumeration, in the 'Edinburgh Review' of 1820, is not more whimsical than accurate; ending with,—"The taxpayer's virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble; and he will then be gathered to his fathers, to be taxed no more."

Rapid developments of manufacturing industry enabled England to provide the means for the long and costly struggle with France. The spinning-jenny, the power-loom, the self-acting mule, the Jacquard machine, and, above all, the steam-engine, were the real moving-powers of fleets and armies, and also the chief sources of agricultural and manufacturing prosperity. Great mechanical improvements were not introduced without much prejudiced resistance; as is generally the case with labour-saving contrivances, from an unreasoning dread of lessened employment, whereas this has always been largely increased by extending trade. From 1811 to 1817 there were serious riots and much damage by Luddites; named after a poor idiot who broke some stocking-frames in a frenzy. His example was followed in the district around Derby and Nottingham. The military had to be called out, and there were numerous trials and some executions; but calmer and wiser councils prevailed. The new sources of national wealth furnished to Pitt the means for his wearisome and ceaseless Sisyphus-like task of constructing foreign alliances, and soothing and bribing petty Continental princelets who had little to lose but everything to gain. Their States were richer in men than in money, so that they could furnish any number of Dugald Dalgettys; and

they looked to this country for the supply of treasure in exchange. From 1793 to 1814, an aggregate of £40,000,000 in cash was paid to them, besides large assistance in the form of clothing, provisions, and military stores, and the enormous cost of maintaining many thousands of British troops on the Continent. Adam Smith saw, and clearly stated, why a manufacturing people has far greater power to endure the charges of a foreign war than another nation whose surplus industry consists of what he calls raw produce. The value of manufactured goods is in the labour condensed in them. Representing greater value in less compass, they are more portable, and find their way more readily into the markets of the world. As they represent greater utility, because immediately available for current demands, they are more manageable as articles of sale.

The germ of the modern railroad existed, as Roger North described (1650–1734), in the rough tracks laid down, first of timber, and then of iron, for the easier transit of laden waggons drawn by horses from the collieries to the shipping-ports. They were called tram-roads, being an abbreviation of the name of the father of the famous Indian General, Sir James Outram, from improvements made by him. In 1801, an Act was obtained for constructing a line for the carriage of merchandise from the Thames at Wandsworth to Croydon. Permission was obtained within twenty years for similar lines in other districts, to an aggregate of about two hundred miles. All this involved improvements in the making of wrought iron; and then a substitute for horse-traction was required. Dr. Robison, William Murdoch, William Symington, Thomas Allen, James Watt, Richard Trevethick, Andrew Vivian, Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Oliver Evans, of Maryland, U.S.A., Sadi Carnot, in Paris, and other ingenious persons, had been feeling their way after practical locomotives. They failed to surmount the initial difficulties, or their inventions did not come into actual use. George Stephenson (1781–1848), an engine-wright in Killingworth Collieries, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, is commonly, though erroneously supposed to have been the first who succeeded in making one that was efficient and econo-

mical, and in applying the steam-blast, by which its power was doubled. Like many other useful discoveries and inventions, it passed through a long process of evolution. All subsequent improvements only carry out and perfect previous experiments. The "No. 1 Engine" of 1825 is still preserved with reverent care at Darlington. Samuel Smiles has related the story in his 'Life of the Stephensons,' which reads like one of the fairy tales of science, and is romantic, if not strictly accurate. The elder Stephenson's renown is sufficiently illustrious without ascribing to him merits which he never claimed. A poor mechanic, Thomas Gray, of Nottingham, published in 1819 a project for a general system of iron railways, which he had been urging for some years upon public notice. He experienced the common fate of men who are in advance of their time, being neglected or despised, where he was not misrepresented; and he died in poverty and obscurity, having neither the means nor the friends to bring his scheme into practical effect.

The Stockton and Darlington Railway was incorporated in 1821, and opened four years later, mainly through the sagacity, courage, and enterprise of Edward Pease, a Quaker banker, the early friend and patron of Stephenson. About the same time, the humble but valuable invention of matches ignitible by friction, to which the dubious name of Lucifer came to be applied, began slowly to supersede the old plan of striking sparks upon tinder by means of flint and steel. Although pens made from quills continued to be used, steel pens were introduced in 1820, and soon became common; but the clumsy device of the pounce-box was not supplanted until a later day by the convenience of blotting-paper. The Liverpool and Manchester Railway was surveyed in 1824, but was not completed for six years. The projectors modestly set forth that probably one-half the number of persons travelling by coaches between those towns might prefer to avail themselves of the railway; but its chief source of income was anticipated from the conveyance of raw materials and manufactured goods. The event speedily falsified the calculations; and the rapid growth of the passenger traffic became the principal inducement to embark in the numerous undertakings

that sprang up in the next decade or two. It also falsified the Jeremiads of pessimists who predicted dire evils as the result of railways; just as they had done in the case of canals, and with every improvement in agriculture and in manufacturing processes.

Thus was inaugurated the modern railroad system, destined, with the extraordinary development of mining and manufactures, to become the means of effecting a commercial, industrial, and social revolution. Unfortunately, there was no provision in the earlier Acts to secure uniformity of gauge, thus causing much wasteful outlay. No one foresaw the rapid expansion, or it might have been possible also to guard against reckless competition in many cases, and virtual monopoly in others; excessive cost of construction; unnecessary litigation; and legalized gambling. This was especially the case in 1836 and in 1846, when the gullible public believed they were to be as suddenly and as easily enriched as Dousterswivel pretended, with his divining-rod, in Scott's 'Antiquary.' A reaction speedily came, with inevitable panic and widespread misery. There was also the grasping and insatiable rapacity of the land-owning class, who, at first, opposed railroads as a nuisance, throwing every obstacle in their way, and using their legislative influence to defeat the Bills. Mr. Samuel Laing, chairman of the Brighton Railway, stated in 1880 that owners exacted £50,000,000 over and above the market value of the land; one effect being to enhance rates for passengers and goods, in order to meet the interest on this vast amount of dead capital.

Another gross evil arose from the enormous fees demanded by both Houses of Parliament. Five lines were projected between London and Brighton, and they spent nearly £200,000 in legislative fights. The promoters of the Birmingham line expended nearly £70,000, and the Great Western £88,000, in forcing projects through Parliament. The expense was as large in other cases, as is narrated in G. R. Porter's 'Progress of the Nation.' It was a perpetuation of an ancient but abominable custom of paying officials by fees, instead of by fixed salaries. Their emoluments were

excessive and scandalous. Not until the year 1834 was the method fully carried out of paying all fees into the Exchequer; but the exactions from the promoters of Private Bills, in the shape of heavy Parliamentary charges at each stage of the proceedings, continue to the present day, as is shown in Frederick Clifford's 'History of Private Bill Legislation,' a valuable repertory of facts relating to local self-government from the earliest times. According to the last Parliamentary Return, upwards of two millions were expended during the six years ending 1891, by railway, tramway, gas, water, and canal companies in promoting or opposing Bills and Provisional Orders. Municipal and local authorities paid for the same purpose £650,000. The amount was swollen enormously by the cost of Bills for river, harbour, and dock authorities. So recently as the year 1884, the Bill for the Manchester Ship Canal cost the promoters £150,000 for Parliamentary and legal fees, and was then defeated. Renewed trouble and further expense had to be incurred at a later period.

Steam was applied to the navigation of inland canals, which had largely extended at the beginning of the century. The name of William Symington is especially identified with the prolonged experiments. Robert Fulton, an ingenious English mechanician resident in New York, launched, in 1807, a small vessel having an engine constructed by Boulton and Watt of Birmingham. It traversed the Hudson River as far as Albany, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, at the rate of five miles an hour. He had previously invented a torpedo for naval warfare, but it was rejected by both France and England. Five years later, Henry Bell started a steamboat between Glasgow and Helensburg The structure and speed of such vessels rapidly improved for coast and inland traffic. Steam was used as an auxiliary power in 1819 by a ship that made the voyage from Savannah to Liverpool in twenty-five days, but not until 1838 was the ocean crossed by the "Great Western" steamship from Bristol, and by the "Sirius" from Cork, the former reaching New York in fifteen days. The original steam-vessels of the Cunard Company were only two hundred feet long and of

thirty-four feet beam; about one-third the length of modern ships. The "Great Britain," launched in 1843, was the first large iron steamship, and the first in which the screw propeller was used. Successive developments in marine engines have witnessed the increase of steam pressure in boilers, surface condensation, compound and duplicate expansion cylinders, the screw propeller, accelerated speed, and the use of mild steel in the construction of boilers. All these things, with the extension of roads, the building of bridges, viaducts, docks, and harbours of refuge, and the general introduction of gas-lighting and of water supply, are among the improvements that have added materially to the wealth of the country and to the public convenience.

The condition of Ireland, as described in the sixty-third Chapter, continued, with but slight changes, during the whole of the eighteenth century. The country was held in the iron grip of conquest and of proscription. A small minority ruled by terrorism. Chesterfield said, in 1764, when Lord-Lieutenant—an office which he filled with exceptional ability, discharging its duties with zeal, justice, and firmness—that the poor were used worse than negroes by their masters and the middlemen. The latter were the descendants of the early Stuart colonists, and of the Undertakers of 1691, whom Adam Smith and so many other writers have denounced for their rapacity and cruelty. From 1715 to 1753 a tax of four shillings in the pound was levied on the incomes and pensions of absentee landlords. An impost of half that amount was vainly proposed, twenty years later. Their exactions, and those of an alien Church that used the merciless agency of the tithe-proctor, backed by dragoons, evoked the terrible spectre of Whiteboyism, which, under the various names of Avengers, Molly Maguires, Peep o' Day Boys, Rockites, Ribbonmen, Moonlighters, Fenians, Hearts of Steel, and Brotherhoods or Leagues of all kinds, has more or less dominated Ireland ever since. Lord Hutchinson, in words that Disraeli afterwards parodied, spoke of "a corrupt aristocracy, a ferocious commonalty, a distracted Government, and a divided people," as forming the bane of the country. Arthur Young described in dreadful terms its abject and oppressed con-

dition in 1777. Nine years subsequently, Attorney-General Fitzgibbon (1749-1802), who became Lord Chancellor Clare, said in the Irish House of Commons that although tithes had been mentioned as the cause of a recent outbreak, it arose from the peasants being ground to powder by exorbitant rents; and that so far from being able to pay clerical dues, they possessed neither food nor raiment for themselves. This is the universal testimony of friends and foes; of men of all parties and of none; and it supplied the basis for Maria Edgeworth's 'Castle Rack-Rent' and 'The Absentee.'

A small but determined band, headed by Henry Flood (1732–1791), Henry Grattan (1750 1820), and John Philpot Curran (1750–1817), opposed in the Irish Legislature this continued iniquity, and the mal-administration of Dublin Castle officials. Grattan was a skilful tactician, and an orator of the highest order. One of his sententious phrases described his relation to Irish independence:—"I sat by its cradle: I followed its hearse." By steady persistence, aided by the embarrassments of England during the American War, and by threats of an armed Protestant revolt, a repeal was effected in 1782 of the obnoxious Act of the English Parliament of 1720, which virtually abrogated the liberties of the one sitting in Dublin. The old claim of the Privy Council, to alter Bills sent from Ireland, was renounced. Partial relaxations were also obtained of rules that had so long crippled the agriculture, the trade, and the manufactures of the country, for the benefit of England, with the melancholy result that idle mill-wheels, roofless factories, deserted fisheries, barren fields, and empty warehouses and wharves were to be seen everywhere. This slight act of justice fell far short of Pitt's proposal for absolute free-trade between the two countries, against which Fox thundered, in a spirit of mere party. The modified measure aroused a furious outcry and dogged resistance from great commercial centres like Bristol, Manchester, and Glasgow, and from the grazing interest, which had excluded Irish cattle. Such short-sighted and selfish conduct more than counterbalanced the efforts of Pitt and Grattan, and did much to foster an anti-British spirit in Ireland. Burke

nobly stood forth in defence of the measure of relief, urging that it did not go far enough. He was assailed by the blind prejudice of constituents, who took their revenge on him, and still more disgraced themselves, by rejecting him at the election of 1780. He had to find a seat at Malton, a Yorkshire pocket-borough.

What is known as the Grattan Parliament sat from 1782 to 1800. It was by no means perfect, and was in no true sense independent, representing only a few noble families, the landed interest, and the dominant Protestant faction. The three families of Ponsonby, Beresford, and Downshire owned more than 60 seats. Grattan said that of the 300 members, 64 being returned by counties and 236 by boroughs, two-thirds were mere nominees ; and that 50 were returned by constituencies having not more than ten electors each. James I. created 46 Irish boroughs, and 36 more dated from Charles I. to Anne. The Grattan Parliament effected some good. The Test Act was relaxed for Protestant Nonconformists in Ireland, thus placing them in a better position than their English brethren. Catholics in the latter country remained under a legislative and civic ban until 1829 ; whereas, in Ireland, they were admitted to certain civil and military offices, and, in 1793, to the Parliamentary franchise on forty-shilling freeholds in counties, increasing the voters from 50,000 to 150,000. Four years later, under Grattan's auspices, a proposal was rejected to admit Catholics to the Irish Legislature and to the great offices of State. The few ruling families and borough-mongers would not surrender their power and influence, and the pecuniary gains thereby secured. By opposing moderate and just reforms, fuel was heaped up for a revolution. Some minor grievances were redressed ; but the exclusiveness of many Irish landowners, and the jealousy of English farmers and manufacturers, prevented other schemes of commercial and fiscal improvement as devised by Pitt, who felt that the people were plunged into a slough of poverty and misery. He abandoned his course in the face of opposition, and under pressure of the war with France ; and it was speedily found that all hope of conciliation had passed away. Political combinations arose, and political plots were formed. Both were

sought to be countermined by a hateful system of espionage ; sustained by a lavish use of the Secret Service Fund. Every plot was betrayed as soon as contrived ; for in Ireland, as elsewhere, traitors and informers have always driven a lucrative trade by their infamy. Theobald Wolfe Tone (1763-1798), a wealthy, enthusiastic, and patriotic young barrister, formed, with others, like himself, mostly Protestants, Clubs of United Irishmen. Owing to weariness, and failure in the use of pacific means, resort was had to physical force. The aid of the French Directory was invoked, and a fleet was despatched in 1796 under General Hoche ; but it was intercepted and scattered with much loss. Tone was one of the victims of 1798. Of his transparent sincerity and uprightness, of his self-sacrifice and heroism, there can be no question.

Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed Viceroy in 1795. That enlightened and generous man accepted the difficult post on condition that he should be allowed, if judged needful, to sanction the movement for full Catholic Emancipation, so as to secure for the vast majority of the people equal rights as citizens. Pitt gave the promise ; but recalled Fitzwilliam in three months. The extreme Orange faction and the placemen, whose gains were threatened, with the numerous pensioners—more than £100,000 being annually disbursed for the purpose—stirred up strife, and the fair prospect vanished of a peaceful solution of the chronic difficulty. Without condoning the Protestant Massacre, the Rebellion of 1798 is now known to have been cunningly turned to account, if it was not actually instigated and fostered by Protestant zealots, with a view to bring about the Legislative Union. Large districts were proclaimed. A reign of terror was set up. Brutality and injustice on the side of the wealthy and armed minority provoked reprisals and vengeance from their victims. The so-called Loyalists acted with a ferocity worthy of savages. Fifty thousand soldiers were quartered upon the country, and virtually did as they chose. Two mercenary Hessian regiments, like those who had been sent to America to put down the colonists, were infamous for their coarseness and cruelty. Peasants who rose in self-defence against landlord oppression,

scandalous misrule, and military tyranny, with numerous unarmed and helpless men, women, and children, were hunted down like wild beasts, and flogged, hanged, or shot, without any form of trial, or only with the travesty of justice known as drum-head court-martial. The use of the pitched cap and other kinds of torture, with mutilation, rape, burning, robbery, and wanton destruction of life and property, went on unchecked for five months. Dr. Dickson, the Protestant Bishop of Down, told Lord Holland "he had seen families returning peaceably from Mass, assailed without provocation by drunken troops and yeomanry, and the wives and daughters exposed to every species of indignity, brutality, and outrage, from which neither his remonstrances nor those of other Protestant gentlemen could rescue them." Houses were searched without warrant, on the slightest pretence or suspicion, and were set on fire after being looted. Men were seized, tied up, and scourged, sometimes receiving as many as five hundred lashes, to compel them to reveal where arms were secreted, or to implicate others. Innocent and defenceless people were shot or cut down in their homes. Full particulars of these diabolical excesses are given in the histories of the Rebellion by James Gordon, Edward Hay, and Francis Plowden, and in such works as Jackson's 'Personal Narrative.' The loss of life during nine months is estimated by writers on both sides at from fifteen to twenty thousand; though some place it much higher.

Sir Ralph Abercromby tried to restrain the conduct of the militia under his command, and retired in disgust because, as he said, they had been degraded into a mob of ruffians and bandits, in which an utter lack of discipline and a total disregard for human life prevailed. He declared in his last General Order that the army was "in a state of licentiousness which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy." The published 'Correspondence' of Lord Cornwallis, the Irish Viceroy, is filled with similar complaints; which exposed him to a charge of "a ruinous system of lenity." He wrote in terms of loathing of the work he had to do, of the class of people with whom he had to deal, and of the system

of political intrigue and of financial corruption, extending over many months, with which the name of Clare, and, still more conspicuously, that of Castlereagh (1769–1822), are prominently identified. Yet the latter was an able statesmen, as his subsequent career demonstrated, and he never faltered in his support of Catholic claims. The former was a man of great abilities, but was not troubled with scruples. He was bent on attaining his ends at all hazards. Curses and execrations were heard at his funeral. A more infamous case was that of John Toler, who sold himself for the Earldom of Norbury and the post of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and is notorious as "the hanging judge." He is said to have expressed regret that he could not repeat the transaction. Cromwell had carried into effect an actual union of the two countries by calling representatives from Ireland to his Parliaments. A scheme of Legislative Union, first propounded in Sir William Petty's memorable work, 'The Political Anatomy of Ireland,' published in 1691, had been discussed at intervals by Molyneux, Bishop Berkeley, Dean Tucker, and, notably, by Adam Smith. Under happier conditions, and by the use of legitimate means, it might have been brought about, to the lasting advantage of both countries. Instead of this, it was forced on, and was carried by bribery and fraud. At first, the Irish House of Commons, consisting, it must be remembered, of Protestants, refused, by 111 votes to 106, to discuss the matter. Occult influences were set in motion. After lengthened haggling as to terms, the patrons of 84 boroughs, returning two members each, were bought out, under the specious euphemism of "compensation," at the average price of £7,875 for each seat; the total amount, more than a million and a quarter, being added to the Irish National Debt; so that the country was made to pay for its legislative effacement.

In addition to the direct money barter, lucrative offices and peerages were granted as inducements to consent to the passing of the Act of Union; so that, as Lecky says, in his full and judicious treatment of the subject, "the majority of Irish titles are historically connected with the memory of shame." Nearly all the lawyers who sup-

ported the measure received judicial appointments. Opposition was punished by the removal of officials and dignitaries. More than £30,000 were bestowed in pensions on functionaries of the two Houses, all of whom were Protestants. Yet, in spite of bribes, coaxing, threats, and promises, it could not have been carried but for the Rebellion. The estimated population at the time was about four millions; but no official Census of Ireland was taken before 1813. That of England and Wales, in 1801, gave eight millions and three quarters; while Scotland was over a million and a half. But the methods of enumeration were very imperfect, and continued to be so for several decades. By the terms of the Act of Union, as finally settled, Ireland was to be represented on a fixed basis in the British Legislature by 100 elected members, 28 temporal peers, and four prelates. The Established Churches were combined, and equal commercial privileges were conceded. The public debt was enormously increased, from four millions to forty-three, under the pretence of apportionment; as was the case subsequently with the taxation of the country. The laws and the Courts of each were continued, subject to future alterations. A complementary Bill was speedily passed in England. The royal arms were grouped for the three kingdoms, and the absurd and offensive title of King of France, maintained like a verbal phantom since the Plantagenet times, was dropped.

By Pitt's original plan, the Catholics of Ireland were to be admitted at once to full participation in citizen rights, including the British Legislature; provision was to be made for their bishops and clergy, similar to the Regium Donum granted to the Presbyterians, which was increased from £5,000 to £25,000, as an inducement not to oppose the Union; and the grievances of the tithe system were to be redressed by a commutation into a rent-charge. Pitt promised to procure relief from the remaining Penal Laws, or to retire from office. The support of the Catholics to the Union was given on this distinct pledge. The equity and the generosity of his proposal explain the antagonism displayed to the Union by nearly all the Episcopalians and by many of the

Presbyterians, who were opposed to this reasonable concession of citizenship to Catholics. Before the scheme could be fully discussed in the Cabinet, it was revealed to the King by Loughborough, the Chancellor (Wedderburn). Having abandoned his former principles, he now betrayed his colleagues. In vain did Pitt urge the altered circumstances since the exclusion laws were framed, and present the claims of common right and justice. George III. declared, in his stupid, sullen way, that he should consider any man his personal enemy who pressed this upon him, and that his conscience would not allow him to violate his coronation oath by assenting to such an act of justice to several millions of his subjects. His conduct whenever any question arose that alarmed his narrow prejudices, was a repetition of the chicanery by which, in 1772, he induced the Lords to reject a measure passed by the Commons for relieving Nonconformists. Conscience is frequently made a convenient stalking-horse for bigotry, injustice, and intolerance. The plea about the coronation oath was repudiated by Lord Liverpool and by Canning. As Macaulay says, the oath must be taken to refer, as originally settled in 1689, to the religion which is or may be established from time to time; because Parliament that enacts can also repeal.

The worry of the conflict, with the domestic troubles perpetually arising in the royal family, caused a return of the King's insanity. When he recovered, Pitt promised never again to moot the subject, and thus the Catholics were cheated. Their hopes had been raised only to be disappointed. Pitt abandoned them, just as he renounced Parliamentary Reform, and as he deferred the abolition of the slave-trade—merely to please the monarch. Unquestionably, he could have carried his point by insistence; but it was convenient for him to retire at this juncture, because of the reverses and costliness of the French War. The Catholics gained nothing by the change of Ministry. Emancipation, which was ripe for settlement in 1800, was thrust aside for nearly one-third of a century. One of the earliest Acts of the United Parliament was for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the establishment of martial law in Ireland; the first of a long and mournful series of eighty

coercive measures. Enforced nuptials seldom end happily, either with individuals or with nations. George III., however, was sinking into the blindness and lunacy that clouded the last ten years of his life. After several attacks, as in 1801 and in 1804, he became much worse six years later, and reason never again resumed her throne. For the next decade, the daily bulletin issued by the doctors was couched in almost identical terms; to the effect that his bodily health was but little impaired by age, but that the mental disorder was unabated. The Prince of Wales became Regent, under the same restrictions as those proposed in 1788. Instead of calling his Whig friends to his councils, as they fully expected, he broke with them at once and for ever; although they had done so much, even at the sacrifice of truth and honour, to screen his extravagance and profligacy. But the orange was sucked dry, and was flung away.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

REPRESSIVE MEASURES IN ENGLAND.

A.D. 1791–1820.

As was intimated in the last Chapter, the mass of the people were plunged into abject poverty and wretchedness through the extravagance, the waste, and the destruction of the long and terrible war. Contrasting weekly wages at an interval of only ten years, and estimating their value by the price of wheat, a week's earnings of an agricultural labourer could purchase in 1790 eighty-two pints of wheat, and those of a skilled artisan one hundred and sixty-nine pints; whereas in 1800 they could procure only fifty-three and eighty-three pints respectively. The purchasing power of money in securing the necessaries of life is the sole standard of value, and is a fair means of estimating the condition of the people. G. R. Porter has dealt with this exhaustively in the 'Progress of the Nation,' a work that has fallen into undeserved forgetfulness. Matters became

much worse before the end of the war. In 1812, wheat was six guineas a quarter, and it was only three shillings lower in the Autumn of 1817. One effect of the scarcity and suffering was an increase of crime and poverty, with a rapid rise in the poor-rates. In 1775, they were nearly a million and a half, then thought to be an enormous sum. In 1816, they exceeded six millions. Down to the former period, the labourer was in a fairly prosperous condition, compared with three quarters of a century afterwards. Rent was lower, wearing apparel cheaper, and the cost of living much less than during the war, with the famine prices entailed thereby. He had liberty to graze animals and poultry on commons and wastes, and to cut turf and fuel, with the chance of obtaining a little land, and, in time, a small farm. From 1775, a change for the worse set in, as is detailed in Sir F. M. Eden's 'History of the Poor,' and in similar works. Wages were inadequate to supply common necessaries, the prices of which were enhanced by heavy taxation. Small farms were consolidated. Commons were enclosed, and ancient rights thereon extinguished.

The year 1600 witnessed the first of a long series of Enclosure Acts; but by far the greater portion were passed in the next century, especially during the concluding thirty years, when a thousand and fifty-eight such measures became law. Between 1700 and 1845, upwards of six millions of acres were thus dealt with; or nearly one third of the total area now under cultivation. Goldsmith, in the 'Deserted Village,' gives exquisite expression to the wrongs inflicted. More than half of the six millions were enclosed during the long reign of George III., by means of private Bills rushed through the Legislature, where the landed interest predominated. The national wealth has been largely increased by the cultivation of waste lands; but those who reaped most of the benefit ought to have been made to pay a permanent rent. Berkeley describes certain landlords in his day as vultures with iron bowels. Their conduct in appropriating vast tracts of common land evinced callous unscrupulousness in curtailing, and even in extinguishing, the rights of their neighbours. One of the most cruel exemplifications of landlord selfishness was the depopu-

lation of large districts in Sutherlandshire, between 1811 and 1820, by order of its ducal owner, for the wanton purpose of creating extensive sheep-runs and deer-forests. Fifteen thousand people were evicted at brief notice from land which they and their fathers had reclaimed at infinite labour, and from cottages which they had reared with stones and turf. It was an extreme instance; but there were hundreds of similar cases, varying only in degree. When the scandal became too glaring, and after the mischief and the wrong were irretrievable, Royal Commissions and Select Committees on Enclosures were appointed; as in 1795, in 1827, in 1843, and in 1867. Exhaustive inquiries were made, and a large amount of information was collected, and set forth at copious length in Blue Books. Competent witnesses were examined, and numerous practical suggestions offered, but never fully carried out. The form was gone through of inserting in the general Enclosure Act of 1845 a provision that, in future, a reasonable portion of land should be reserved for allotments for the poor, and for purposes of public recreation; but legal chicanery and selfish greed have almost entirely evaded the provision. Out of 700,000 acres enclosed since 1845, only about four thousand have been so appropriated. Nor have effectual means yet been devised to satisfy the natural land-hunger, by the timid and hesitating Allotment Acts of recent years; but, in 1893, a measure was passed whereby an end was put to unlawful enclosures under the Statute of Merton of 1236, by providing that the consent of the Board of Agriculture must be obtained; which can only be given on showing that benefit will accrue to the public.

While the multitude toiled and suffered, starved and died, and while the extravagance of the Court and the insatiable greed of sinecurists and pensioners absorbed enormous sums, the French War was popular with the Army and Navy, for the chances of promotion and of prize-money; especially with the officers, who reaped the chief benefit. Where a common sailor received five pounds, his captain had a thousand, and an admiral eight thousand. The conflict was also popular with the ruling class, because it increased patronage and emolu-

ments ; and with farmers and manufacturers, because it forced up prices. If complaints were heard, they were stifled by the strong arm of the law, under the pretence of being seditious. Poverty and destitution were dealt with in a spirit of empiricism, which only aggravated the evil. Attempts to regulate wages, such as had been vainly tried long before by the Statutes of Labourers, were again made ; the only difference being in the construction of a sliding-scale of parish relief, according to local rates of wages, instead of leaving the latter to rise with the depleted state of the labour-market, with the depreciation in the currency, and with the enhancement of the necessaries of life. A clumsy, unjust, and ineffectual expedient was devised of grants-in-aid to the poor, over and above their small earnings. Parochial relief came to be regarded as a right. Idleness and improvidence were encouraged. Boys and girls married, because relief was partly determined by the number of children and by the price of bread. The just and salutary idea of the Elizabethan Poor-Law was changed for the worse by an Act of 1796, which supplemented wages out of the rates, as an expedient for increasing rents and profits, and as a pretext for keeping wages low. No regard was had to character or ability, to industry or idleness, to extravagance or thrift. Aid was given to all, according to the scale of wages that prevailed. One-seventh of the population in 1803 received parochial relief. The results, and the social condition of the poor, are graphically described in Crabbe's poems. The demoralization and expense were aggravated by the condition of the laws relating to bastardy. Loose women were rewarded for profligacy, in proportion to the number of their illegitimate children. A further aggravation was caused by the Law of Settlement, under which cottages were pulled down, and new ones were not built ; driving labourers into adjacent parishes, or leading to overcrowding and all its attendant horrors. Similar results followed the introduction of a Poor-Law into Ireland in 1836. A measure humane in intention, became the means of increasing the pauperism it was designed to assuage ; for landowners ejected the poor, and pulled down their miserable hovels. A Nemesis came within ten years.

The success of the American Colonies in their struggle for independence, and the early stages of the Revolution in France, awakened sympathies and hopes among the poor in England. Reasonable concessions and reforms were refused. Every hoary abuse was sacred. The servile language of the Restoration period was again heard. Popular ignorance and fanaticism, sometimes aroused by bigoted harangues of the clergy, broke out in various places in mob violence against Nonconformists. The worst instance was that of the learned and accomplished Dr. Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), at Birmingham, in 1791, on account of his liberal opinions in politics and theology. His house was attacked and burned, with his valuable library and philosophical instruments. The sum awarded as damage fell short of the actual loss by two thousand pounds. Priestley was a distinguished Fellow of the Royal Society; as were Richard Price, Andrew Kippis, Samuel Chandler, and other eminent Nonconformist ministers of that day. The only thing comparable for brutal outrage was the terrorism of the No-Popery Riots of 1780, led by a half-madman, Lord George Gordon. Owing to the supineness of the Government, London was abandoned for five days to an ignorant, drunken, plundering mob, made up of the unruly and the dissolute, who were used as tools of clerical and political hatred of a slight measure of relief granted to Catholics from the operation of the Penal Laws. If the right of free speech was discredited in some instances by the random and reckless declamation of a few visionaries, the Government and the Legislature, while guarding against excesses, had no authority to suppress legitimate discussion; yet this was prohibited, under colour of silencing vapid utterances that received factitious importance from State prosecutions, instead of being left to die away in contemptuous silence. Pretensions of absolute authority were set up by the few, in antagonism to the great body of the nation, who were allowed no voice in public affairs, owing to the restricted franchise. One prelate asserted in the House of Lords, amidst cheers, that the people had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them.

As the inevitable result of this condition of things,

mutual distrust and alienation arose. The people hated their rulers, whom they knew only by costly government, by oppressive taxes, and by stern laws harshly administered. There was much privation and terrible suffering. Every complaint, however just, was deemed treasonable. Many of the clergy revived the servile teaching of Stuart times. Chief among the offenders was Horsley, Bishop of St. Asaph, whose controversy with Priestley was the great theological duel of the century. In a sermon before the House of Lords, January 30, 1793, he repeated the exploded dogmas of Divine Right and Passive Obedience. Among the replies called forth, the ablest was a pamphlet by Robert Hall, 'An Apology for Freedom of the Press,' in which he dealt not only with the specific matter, but with the Reform of Parliament and with the whole question of popular rights. A small but noble band of legislators, including a few peers, with a sprinkling of wealthy and influential persons, never ceased to protest during those dark and terrible years. Undying gratitude is due to men like Fox and Erskine, Grey and Althorp, Tierney and Horner, Romilly and Whitbread, who, throughout the almost hopeless struggle that waged from 1793, upheld the banner of political freedom. The Society of Friends of the People was formed in the preceding year by some of the above-named leading Whigs. Its objects were to restore freedom of election and an equal representation, and to secure more frequent Parliaments. George Tierney (1750–1830) drafted its famous petition to the House of Commons, in which that body was plainly told of its defective title as representing the nation. Four years later, he entered the House, and rendered signal service by his trenchant financial criticisms. He was a formidable opponent of Pitt's system, and for several years brought forward, and sustained by powerful arguments, a series of resolutions against the Budgets. He held office for a short time in the Grenville and Canning Ministries, and on the death of George Ponsonby, in 1817, he became leader of the Opposition at a critical period.

The Gagging Act of 1795, which continued in force for six years, was designed to crush the democratic spirit, and to repress all political discussion, in the pretended interests of law and order. Whoever opposed or criti-

cized the Government was treated as an enemy of the country. The Press was muzzled, by extending the scheme initiated in 1780, when John Walter (1739–1812), founder of 'The Times' newspaper, was imprisoned for a year, for an alleged libel upon the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, whose scandalous lives were too well known. The pillory was included in the sentence, but that part was remitted, as it would have provoked a riot. A second charge of libel on some others of the graceless sons of the King entailed upon Walter another imprisonment in the following year. Press prosecutions became more frequent, and the penalties more severe. It was vainly hoped to compel silence by terror. Letters were opened in the Post Office. Parcels of newspapers were seized in transmission. Persons carrying bundles were stopped, searched, and detained. The confidence of domestic life was violated. An army of spies was employed. Political associations and public meetings were suppressed. Circulating libraries and newsrooms required licenses, under a penalty of one hundred pounds a day. Books might not be lent without leave from stupid justices who never read any, and who suspected or hated all who did. Fox charged the Government, from his place in the House, with having erected every man, not only into an inquisitor, but into a judge, a spy, and an informer: realizing the classical story of the Ear of Dionysius. Numbers of persons were indicted, fined, imprisoned, or transported, for discussing public questions of vital moment, in language such as is employed in the present day with impunity, both on platforms and in newspapers. For the first time since the futile Jacobite rising of 1745, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; and any who were obnoxious to the Crown or to the Ministry could be imprisoned without specific charge or trial, and for almost any length of time. Lord Holland stated in the Upper House, in 1800, that the Act had been inoperative during five out of the preceding seven years; and that, of the many persons arrested, few had been put on trial, and only one was convicted. He also said that political prisoners, detained on mere suspicion, were treated with atrocious cruelty; and the charge was not contradicted.

Matters were not brought to an issue, because most of the trials for alleged sedition or high treason resulted in verdicts of acquittal, so flimsy or tainted was the evidence. The doctrine of constructive treason was pushed by rancorous lawyers and judges to limits that favoured a system of absolutism. Proof of overt acts was dispensed with. Numerous trials took place merely for urging the need of Parliamentary reform. When verdicts could be snatched on technical grounds, the accused were sentenced to seven or fourteen years' transportation; which, as then carried out, was worse than death, and meant the realization of the most horrible of Dante's visions. John Horne Tooke, John Thelwall, and Thomas Hardy, with other members of the London Corresponding Society, were tried in 1794 for high treason. They were ably defended by the brilliant Thomas Erskine, and acquitted by the jury amidst much excitement and enthusiasm, to the surprise and anger of the dominant Tory party. Tooke's character stands high for political morality. On all public questions he was just and patriotic. He was elected member for Old Sarum in 1801, and this led to the passing of an Act to disqualify clergymen from sitting in the House of Commons. He was the author of the 'Diversions of Purley'; a work of much acuteness and originality on the analysis and etymology of English words. He claimed the authorship of the speech said to have been addressed, May 23, 1770, to George III. by Lord Mayor Beckford, as inscribed on his monument in Guildhall.

Another scandalous instance was that of James Montgomery; a man of refined and beautiful spirit, whose devout and melodious hymns are still deservedly esteemed. He was fined twenty pounds and imprisoned for three months in 1795, for printing a ballad in which sedition was supposed to lurk. The next year he was fined thirty pounds, and imprisoned for six months, for printing in his newspaper, the 'Sheffield Iris,' an account of a riot. In 1793, Mr. Winterbotham, a Baptist minister at Plymouth, was tried at Exeter for preaching a sermon advocating an extension of civil and religious liberty, and was fined two hundred pounds and imprisoned four years. During the trial of Muir and Palmer, in Scotland, for

"leasing making," or disparagement of the character of the sovereign, one of the Lords of Justiciary declared that no man without landed property had a right to speak of the Constitution; and another affirmed that since the abolition of torture there was no adequate punishment for sedition. Political writers like Leigh Hunt (1784–1859) and his brother John were repeatedly prosecuted for articles in the 'Examiner.' Once they suffered two years' imprisonment in separate cells, and were fined one thousand pounds; ostensibly for a criticism upon the Prince Regent, designed to expose the adulation of Court scribblers; but really for the advocacy of the principles of political freedom. In another case, the jury declined to convict them for copying a description from the 'Stamford News' of the infliction of a brutal sentence of one thousand lashes on a soldier, and for criticising the act. The verdict was given in defiance of a dictum by Chief Justice Ellenborough (1748–1818), that the article was intended to stir up disaffection and mutiny in the Army. John Drakard, printer of the 'Stamford News,' was convicted at Lincoln, May 25, 1811, merely for re-publishing Hunt's criticism, and was sentenced to a fine of two hundred pounds and imprisonment for eighteen months. John Hunt was further sent to prison for twelve months for an alleged libel on "the Boroughmonger Parliament." Similar prosecutions, followed by vindictive punishments, occurred in numerous cases, as recorded in the State Trials of the period, or entombed among the archives of various political and religious bodies. The copious manuscripts of Francis Place, preserved among the Additional MSS. of the British Museum, contain full and authentic information of movements in the assertion of popular rights at this period, and down to the Chartist agitation. The gaols were filled with political opponents of the Government, who were treated as if they were felons and scoundrels. A state of terrorism prevailed during nearly thirty years. It seemed as if civil war would be the only means of escape from galling servitude. Such a conspiracy of politicians, lawyers, and soldiers against public liberties had never been witnessed since the days of Charles I., and it was all but successful.

Writers like William Cobbett (1762–1835), and platform-speakers like the frothy, swaggering, and self-seeking Henry ("Orator") Hunt (1773–1835), exerted great influence. The term "Radical" was first applied to them and their associates, because they demanded thorough, root-and-branch changes in the representative and administrative systems. Samuel Bamford (1788–1872), in his 'Life of a Radical,' gives much information on the social condition of the people, and concerning the objects sought and the methods pursued. Cobbett issued his 'Political Register' in 1802, and it appeared weekly until his death. Working himself up by steady perseverance from the condition of the son of a small farmer, he began public life as a Tory, but was driven by oppression into the opposite political camp. He was repeatedly tried and convicted for libel, and once, in 1810, for having commented, twelve months before, on the merciless sentence of a court-martial at Ely. For this he was fined £1,000, imprisoned for two years, and ordered by Ellenborough and three other judges to enter into recognisances to be of good behaviour for seven years. Cobbett went to America in 1817, to escape another vindictive prosecution. He was returned to the first Reformed Parliament as one of the members for Oldham. His sturdy common sense, and his power of expression, which form the theme of one of the ablest and most discriminating of Hazlitt's essays, appear in his multitudinous writings. His political style is expressed by his own pseudonym of Peter Porcupine. In spite of crotchets, inconsistencies and bitter personalities, and a hatred that followed his persecutors beyond the grave, he had a hearty love for his country, and he rendered lasting service to the popular cause. He had been a private soldier for eight years, and he knew what the rank and file had to endure. Similar tyranny prevailed in the Navy, and led to frequent mutinies, of which the one at the Nore, in 1797, was the chief.

When peace was restored, the agricultural interest hoped to maintain the war prices of staple articles of food, by prohibiting, as on former occasions, so far back as 1403, the importation of foreign breadstuffs, except on payment of a heavy duty. It had been fixed in 1804

at 24s. 3d. per quarter. Influence in the Legislature secured an enactment, hurried through all its stages in ten days, in 1815, in spite of bread-riots caused by the terrible distress, that wheat should be admitted only by a graduated tax, and not at all when the price was below eighty shillings. It was a reproduction of a measure passed in 1670; and was done, partly under the pretence of fostering native industry, and partly on the ground, shamelessly avowed in the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, that it was "for the welfare of the State to uphold at their accustomed level the fortunes of a class which supplied officers to the public service." The obvious effect was to benefit, in a small measure, the tenant-farmers, but, in a much larger measure, the landowners, at the expense of consumers. The wages of agricultural labourers ranged from four to eight shillings a week, without food, which consisted chiefly of rye bread and stony cheese too hard to bite, according to the poet Robert Bloomfield, the "Farmer's Boy." The high price of food, with other restraints upon trade, and the reaction induced after the prolonged war-fever, caused much distress and bankruptcy. Widespread discontent and turbulence prevailed during the Regency, from 1810 to 1820. Incendiary fires were frequent. Clamorous mobs marched with banners inscribed "Bread or Blood." Ignorant and starving men were easily led into tumult and violence, provoked by the general misery, when bread was a shilling the four-pound loaf. The Rev. T. R. Malthus (1766–1834) enunciated what were then novel opinions concerning the relations of population to means of subsistence, treating the subject on abstract grounds of Political Economy. Following earlier investigators, and as a result of wide travel and observation, he laid down his famous principle that population increases in a geometrical ratio, but subsistence in only an arithmetical one; and he argued that population is necessarily limited by the checks of vice and misery, besides those of war and pestilence. His teaching has been grossly misunderstood and misrepresented. It simply amounted to a precept not to marry without being able to support a family.

Once more it was resolved by the Tory Ministry, of

which Lord Liverpool was the head, to endeavour to stifle public opinion, to suppress the Hampden Clubs and other organizations that had been formed in defence of liberty, and to disregard all demands for Parliamentary Reform. Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, issued a circular in March, 1817, that any magistrate might grant a warrant for the apprehension of any person charged on oath with the publication of libels, and compel him to give bail to answer the charge. This straining of executive power was grossly illegal. William Hone (1779–1842), a bookseller in the Old Bailey, compiler of the 'Every-day Book' and other useful works, was tried in December, on an *ex officio* criminal information by the Attorney-General, Sir Samuel Shepherd, on three separate charges of blasphemous parody. However objectionable their character, the motive and aim in prosecuting were solely political. Hone defended himself with skill and courage against the browbeating insolence of Crown lawyers, and against the prejudiced rulings of the rough and bigoted Ellenborough, who, in his forty-third year, apostatized from the Whigs for purposes of professional advancement, and became the malevolent adversary of his former associates, prostituting the Bench as a political engine. To the intense mortification of his persecutors, Hone secured an acquittal in each case from three special juries.

That noble-minded man and great lawyer, Sir Samuel Romilly (1757–1818), urged in the House of Commons in 1818 the illegality of Sidmouth's circular, of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and of the action of an army of spies and informers, but he was in a hopeless minority. For eleven years he had tried to secure a mitigation of the criminal law, without success. He said that he had examined the codes of all nations, and England's was the most worthy of the anthropophagi. A Bill was passed in 1816, in spite of his opposition, making a capital offence the destruction of colliery machinery by persons riotously assembled. Three years before, an Act was renewed that punished with death the malicious breaking of lace or stocking-frames. Southey justly denounces the intolerable follies and chicane of the law in this respect. Among other so-called "crimes"

made capital in the course of centuries, were not only such as murder, arson, forgery, coining, highway-robbery, and burglary, but fraudulent bankruptcy; stealing horses or deer; snatching property from the hands; picking pockets of more than twelve pence; stealing linen from bleaching-grounds, or woollen cloth from tenter-grounds; cutting down a tree in a garden or an orchard; breaking down the borders of a fish-pond; thefts to the value of five shillings in shops and of forty shillings in dwelling-houses or on board vessels in navigable rivers, but not in canals. There were numerous anomalies of the kind, such as legal pedantry alone can devise. To steal ready-gathered fruit was felony; to pluck and steal was only a trespass. To break a window-pane and take goods out was a capital offence at five o'clock in the afternoon, but to break into a house with violence at four in the morning in Summer was a misdemeanour. To steal goods from a shop without being seen was death, but to take them within view of any one involved transportation.

Romilly found it expedient to limit his efforts to the three classes of petty thefts, but succeeded only in removing shoplifting from the death category, with infinite trouble, and after repeated defeats. On his melancholy death by suicide, in a fit of depression, Sir James Mackintosh and others undertook the task of reforming the criminal code. The number of capital felonies was 223; but as Coke long before observed:—"Too severe laws are never duly executed." During ten years prior to 1830, many offences practically ceased to be visited with the penalty of death. Juries refused to convict, in the face of the clearest evidence, because they revolted from the legal consequences. The number actually executed averaged fifty-six in each of those years, out of 1,279 who were sentenced annually, most of these being commuted into transportation or prolonged imprisonment. Yet Paley, in his 'Moral Philosophy,' justifies the Draconian code, on the ground that it swept into the net every crime which could deserve death; leaving it to the Executive to single out for the extreme penalty such cases as were of an aggravated nature. But this rendered punishment totally lacking in that element of certainty

which, as Beccaria truly says, is most essential in a penal code; or, as Spinoza points out, laws are strong which appeal to human reason, but those are impregnable which compel the assent both of reason and of the common affection of mankind. The state of the prisons, notwithstanding what John Howard had accomplished, is painfully shown in the records of Elizabeth Fry's labours from 1813, and the severities of the criminal law form the theme of William Godwin's 'Caleb Williams.'

While repressive and vindictive proceedings were being taken against all who ventured to criticize the policy of the Government, and while persistent efforts were being made to extinguish ancient rights and liberties, much distress prevailed in all the great centres of population and in the agricultural districts. A number of poor men started to walk from Manchester to London, to submit their distress to the authorities. The nickname of Blanketeers was given to them, because of the blanket which each carried to sleep in by the road. The project was simple, and almost childish, yet pathetic. The leaders were arrested and sent to prison, and their followers were roughly dispersed by the military. Staffordshire colliers, Lancashire spinners, and thousands of the unemployed in Birmingham, Leeds, Huddersfield, the Midlands, and elsewhere, held meetings at which social and political topics were discussed. They were styled seditious gatherings, and were dispersed by force, culminating in what is known as the Massacre of Peterloo, August 16, 1819, when the yeomanry, without any provocation, suddenly rode down and slashed with their sabres among a defenceless crowd of forty thousand men and women who had assembled on what is now the site of the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, to demand universal suffrage, equal representation, annual Parliaments, and the repeal of the Corn Laws. Sidmouth and the Regent wrote to express satisfaction and approval of this wanton murder of eleven persons, besides five or six hundred who were seriously injured.

Such disgraceful occurrences naturally aroused an intense feeling of resentment. Numerous influential meetings were held in protest. For attending one at York, Earl Fitzwilliam was dismissed from the office of

Lord-Lieutenant. The prevailing excitement was used as a pretext for further repressive measures, which, on their part, provoked insensate outrages like the Cato-street Conspiracy, in February, 1820, designed to kill all the members of the Cabinet. In the previous year, under pressure from the Government, and in a state of panic, Parliament had rapidly adopted measures known as the Six Acts, which virtually suspended public liberties, silenced the Press, prohibited meetings, and set up a system of terrorism. They suspended nearly every right and liberty of which Englishmen had been accustomed to boast as the heritage of centuries. According to Denman, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench, they tended to overthrow all that was valuable in the Constitution. Almost to a man, the clergy were on the side of absolutism, as were most of the legal aspirants. Only zealous adherents of the Government could hope for a share in its enormous patronage, which remained for many years at the sole disposal of the Tories. The piety of a churchman brought no preferment unless his political orthodoxy was well attested. All who wished to be prebendaries, deans, and bishops, professed the Tory creed. At the bar, an advocate might be learned and eloquent beyond all rivalry; but the prizes of the profession were beyond his reach unless he was a member of that party.

The Six Acts were to continue in force during a period of five years. Many prosecutions took place under them, and, in most cases, the Crown lawyers contrived to obtain from packed juries convictions which were enforced by unsympathetic judges by heavy fines and long imprisonment, or by transportation to the hell of Botany Bay. "The best remedy for the evils of liberty is more liberty," says John Stuart Mill, following and expanding the phrase of his great master Hobbes:—"Political liberty is political power." These axioms are especially true of the Press. As more liberty was given, less license was taken. How the dominant Tory faction regarded the wretchedness of the people, and their demands for reform, appears from what was said in the House of Commons, February 25, 1817, on one of the numerous proposals to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act. The

speaker was Hudson Gurney, who sat for the rotten borough of Newton, in the Isle of Wight, consisting of a few cottages and only one resident voter:—"His counsel to the Crown would be to revert to the vigorous measures of the days of Elizabeth to check the officiousness of volunteer advisers, by driving a cleaver through their wrists with a mallet in Palace-yard; and to keep peace in the City by hanging boys for throwing stones at parish constables."

Lord Sidmouth had before this time earned an unenviable notoriety by a proposal, in 1811, that no person should be granted a certificate as a Nonconformist minister under the Toleration Act, unless on the recommendation of six respectable householders, because many improper persons had assumed the office; "as cobblers, tailors, pig-drovers, and chimney-sweepers." He was compelled to withdraw his insulting scheme, in which more was meant than met the ear. Emboldened by successful opposition, the Dissenting leaders formed the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty. It rendered good service by taking cognizance of acts of clerical illegality, persecution, and oppression, and by securing, in July, 1812, legal protection for Nonconformists against wanton disturbance during public worship, and the repeal of the Conventicle and Five Mile Acts, which, after being dormant for more than a century, had been revived and enforced in many country districts. In the following year, a measure of justice was accorded to Unitarians by a repeal of the Statutes which made it blasphemy to deny the doctrine of the Trinity, and excluded such persons from the benefit of the Toleration Act. But the ancient body known as the Dissenting Deputies, and the Nonconformists generally, did not trouble themselves about Church Building Acts passed at that time, by which large sums of money were voted for the erection and endowment of new edifices. Not only were three millions thus appropriated out of the public taxes, but a remission of duties was allowed on the materials used, amounting to a third of a million more.

This closes the record of a long and mournful period of attempted Political Repression, yielding to a brighter one of Revival.

Period XIV.—REVIVAL.

A.D. 1820–1846.

Chapter.

78.—The Reform Era.
79.—Church Reform and Education.
80.—Literature, Science, and Philanthropy.
81.—Chartist Movement and the Corn Laws.
82.—Irish Famine and Emigration.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

THE REFORM ERA.

A.D. 1820–1835.

DEATH came, January 29, 1820, to the relief of the poor old, blind, demented King. The Prince-Regent succeeded him, as George IV. (b. 1762, r. 1820–1830), and also to the control of a million and a quarter annually from the Civil List. Burke described him as brilliant, but superficial. His moral character was debased and contemptible. He was a selfish voluptuary and a drunkard; fickle and faithless; blasphemous and a liar; a bigamist and a gambler; yet possessing a ready wit, graceful manners, and natural abilities. He had for years been separated from his wife, Caroline of Brunswick, who was also his cousin. The impudent attempt to obtain a divorce was abandoned, because his private marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert, a Roman Catholic, would have been urged as a reason to show that he had forfeited the Crown by violating the provisions of the Act of Settlement and of the Royal Marriage Act. He instructed Fox to deny this marriage in the House of Commons, in April, 1787, when making one of his periodical applications for money; and the disclaimer was repeated there in February, 1789, on account of the uneasy feeling that prevailed. It was an absolute falsehood, for the marriage had actually taken place, December 21, 1785. Whatever may be charged against the unhappy Queen, she was grievously sinned against; and not one word of excuse can be urged for her graceless, heartless husband. Their only child, Princess Charlotte, died in childbirth in November, 1817, at the age of twenty-one, not long after her marriage to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who became, in 1831, the elected King of the Belgians, after the Revolution. He did not scruple to continue to draw from the British Exchequer the £50,000 per annum which rewarded his brief union. The extravagant eulogies pronounced upon the Princess in numberless poems, memoirs, threnodies, newspaper notices, and sermons, the greatest of which, by universal consent, was

one delivered by Robert Hall, at Leicester, must be ascribed to the tragical circumstances of her death, and not to any superlative virtues. Like Edward VI., she is clothed with impossible beatitudes. She was in reality a wayward, impetuous, ill-regulated girl, who had passed a neglected childhood and a loveless youth among strangers, and was to be pitied for her miserable upbringing.

The Liverpool Ministry retained office on the accession of George IV. Its most conspicuous and brilliant member was George Canning (1770–1827), the Foreign Secretary. He infused a more liberal spirit into the Cabinet; asserted the independence of British politics from Continental entanglements; and was the first to recognise the freedom of Spanish America; calling into existence a New World to redress the balance of the Old, as he proudly said, if in rhetorical and exaggerated phraseology. He gave an impetus to commercial affairs by gradually superseding the prohibitive system, and thus paved the way for a repeal of the Corn Laws. He was born to inspire, to direct, and to command; and his superiority asserted itself, as was inevitable, and secured for him his rightful position. He was virtually the head of the Government long before he became Prime Minister on the resignation of Lord Liverpool in April, 1827; but his own health was failing, and he died in August. His acuteness of mind, his powers of expression, his lambent humour, his well-pointed wit, and his light yet galling raillery were unrivalled. It sounds almost incredible that he should have fought a duel with Castlereagh; or that Pitt and George Tierney, Fox and William Adam, Shelburne and Fullerton, Wellington and Lord Winchelsea, Thomas Moore and Francis Jeffrey, and many others, should have met in hostile encounter arising out of political disputes. So recently as 1840, Mr. Edward Horsman, M.P. for Cockermouth, and Mr. James Bradshaw, M.P. for Canterbury, exchanged pistol-shots on these grounds. The Roman Catholic Church always denounced duelling as mortal sin. English law in vain tried to suppress it, so long as it was upheld by a false and preposterous code of honour. A fatal duel between two officers in 1844, led Prince Albert to suggest to the Duke of Wellington, then the commander-in-chief, the issue of amended Articles

of War, declaring it be consistent with the character of honourable men to offer or to accept explanations and apologies for wrong committed.

One of Canning's ablest and most trusted colleagues was William Huskisson ; a man of proved capacity and of much promise. As Secretary for the Colonies, he obtained a removal of old restrictions upon their trade with foreign countries, the abolition or reduction of numerous Import Duties, and a considerable relaxation of the Navigation Laws. He was one of the pioneers of Free Trade. Unfortunately, he was killed at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, September 15, 1830. Too good for the Tories, and not yet qualified for reception into the pale of the true church of the Whigs, of which Lords Grey, Althorp, and Russell were the ministering hierophants, the followers of Canning, like those of Peel at later date, formed a group by themselves. Their political influence, based upon unquestioned ability, was far in excess of their numbers. After a tenure of six months, the Goderich Ministry—described by Disraeli as "a transient and embarrassed phantom"—formed on the death of Canning, resigned in January, 1828. Its head was known as Prosperity Robinson ; a cognomen applied by Cobbett for an unfortunate speech in which, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he boasted of the prosperity of the nation, just before the terrible financial crisis of 1825. Wellington undertook the task of forming a Cabinet, for which only the blandest admirers could pretend that he possessed any qualifications. Its members, including Peel, true to their traditions, continued to resist every proposal for breaking down the artificial ramparts reared since the Stuart Restoration in the interests of monopoly and intolerance. In the hope of suppressing agitation out of doors, they brought forward an impotent measure against Petitions ; and set themselves to the vain task of governing England without regard to the wishes of the nation. The Whigs, invigorated by their long sojourn in the cool shades of Opposition, and ready, as usual, to make any bids for help to restore them to the sunshine and the emoluments of office, deemed the time opportune to raise their favourite cry of civil and religious liberty. Lord John Russell moved, February 26, 1828,

the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, with the design, according to his statement, of removing a sentimental grievance and a social stigma, rather than for the abatement of any practical disability.

The usual obstructive policy was resorted to, and the usual alarmist cries were raised. Pluralist bishops, like the notorious and insatiable nepotist, Pretyman-Tomline of Lincoln, said that the Acts were justly regarded as the firmest bulwarks of the British Constitution. That bigoted Tory and place-loving ex-Chancellor, Lord Eldon (1751–1838), nicknamed Old Bags, from the tenacity with which he clung to the office for twenty-six years, declared that the measure for repeal was a revolutionary Bill, and a virtual separation of Church and State. Logically, he was correct; but the principle had been abandoned by the passing of the Toleration Act of 1689. His opposition was most violent and offensive; but he was consistent with himself as a political saurian. He is said to have boasted—though the story is also told of Thurlow—that he was a bulwark of the Church in another sense, as he only propped it up from the outside, but never entered one. He resisted any change, lest more should follow. He left the Court of Chancery in a state of congestion, from neglect, though he and his family drew upwards of a million and a half out of the public purse. However, the measure passed, and it received the royal assent on the ninth of May; but a declaratory clause was foisted in, pledging municipal officers and magistrates never to use their power or influence to injure or subvert the Established Church, or to disturb it in its rights and privileges: a blot that remained upon the Statute Book until 1856, when it was removed by the persistency of George Hadfield, M.P. for Sheffield. The Bill also provided that the oaths taken by members of the Legislature should be "on the true faith of a Christian," which caused fresh complications by excluding Jews until 1858. Various Statutes had been passed to allow Quakers to make affirmations; and in 1833, the House of Commons resolved to permit Joseph Pease, who had been returned for South Durham, to do so on taking his seat. In the same year, Acts were passed to enable Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists to substitute an affirmation in all

cases for an oath. But the anomalies and scandals of the law relating to burials in parochial ground continued for a lengthened period; as did the exclusion from the national Universities of all who could not subscribe the doctrinal tests.

In the debate in the House of Lords, Wellington emphatically denied that the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts indicated an impending removal of Catholic disabilities. Slight concessions had been made in Ireland, because of the impossibility of enforcing the outrageous Penal Laws against Catholics, but their political and civic ostracism remained; aggravated by Pitt's reprehensible breach of faith in connection with the Act of Union. Political and religious outbreaks culminated in organized resistance to the payment of tithes; accompanied, as usual, by a long series of outrages and murders, with inevitable measures of repression. Secret societies sprang up, under other names, to take the place of those that were dissolved by force. The leaders were prosecuted, imprisoned, transported, or executed; but others arose to carry on the agitation. A large armed force was maintained, and the country teemed with Government spies; but it would have been as effectual to try to prevent by mechanical means an eruption of Vesuvius. The spirit of the ruling class was revealed in the description given of the Irish by Lord Lyndhurst (1772-1863), that they were aliens in blood, in language, and in religion; an avowal made with the vindictiveness of a political renegade who had been rewarded with the Chancellorship for his apostasy from Liberalism. It was known that Canning had intended to submit a scheme for the final settlement of the Catholic claims, as an act both of justice and of expediency. Wellington avowed his determination to oppose it; but even he, with his martinetism, could not stem the tide of events. Ireland was on the brink of civil war. Men like Daniel O'Connell and Richard Lalor Shiel aroused their countrymen to demand the common rights of citizens. The former was elected, in 1828, by nearly two to one, to represent Clare county in Parliament, ousting the Government nominee. As a Catholic, he was debarred from taking his seat. Yet what had happened in Clare

might be repeated throughout Ireland at a General Election. A social convulsion seemed imminent.

In view of these critical circumstances the Wellington Ministry resolved to concede to fear and to threats what they denied to justice. However unpalatable, the concession had to be made. Peel said it was done to avoid greater dangers, and Wellington that it was to prevent civil war. With the sagacity of a practical statesman, Peel knew when to yield to imperious necessity, though he clearly foresaw that if Catholic Emancipation were granted the Irish Church was doomed. Byron, who was his schoolfellow at Harrow, said that he was always in scrapes, but Peel never. Not a mere theorist or idealist, he possessed the quality which Carlyle commends in Mirabeau, who argued not with the inexorable. Nineteen of the prelates voted against the measure, Archbishop Howley saying that it would be dangerous to the Established Church. Much difficulty was experienced with George IV., who talked in his usual maudlin fashion about his coronation oath. Ministers offered to resign; but their places could not be filled, so he submitted to Wellington, who successfully adopted in his interviews the style and tone of a drill-sergeant. The Catholic Relief Bill was carried, after violent debates, and received the royal assent April 13, 1829, allowing Catholics to take their seat in both Houses, and to fill any offices except the Viceroyship of Ireland, and the Lord Chancellorship of either country; but with sundry reservations and oaths to ensure Protestant ascendency. The brunt of the odium fell upon Peel; not so much for yielding at last, but for resisting the inevitable so long. The nickname of Orange Peel had been freely applied on account of his strong Protestant opinions, which had caused his secession from Canning because of inability to admit Catholic claims. He was now branded as an apostate and a traitor, as was again the case when he saw reason, seventeen years later, to change his views and his policy on the subject of the Corn Laws. He felt bound to vacate his seat for Oxford University, but offered himself for re-election. He was received with anger and obloquy, and was defeated; the bigoted non-resident clergy trooping from all quarters to avenge upon him the

necessary concession to justice, as they did in 1865 in the case of Gladstone. In both instances they dishonoured themselves by rejecting such eminent statesmen, as the electors of Bristol did in 1780 with Burke; or those of Edinburgh in 1847 with Macaulay; or as those of Manchester, Huddersfield, and Rochdale rejected John Bright, Richard Cobden, and Edward Miall in 1857 for their opposition to the Crimean War.

The passing of the Catholic Relief Bill was marred by its long and inexcusable delay; by the concession being wrung from an obstinate Sovereign, a reluctant Legislature, and a hostile Church; and by a companion measure, swiftly passed, disfranchising all the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland, who had ceased to vote at the dictation of their landlords, and raising the county franchise to ten pounds, whereby the electorate was reduced to sixty thousand, and was made amenable to the interests of class ascendency. A small minority of the people possessed a monopoly of political power until the Reform Bill of 1884 provided an effectual remedy. Peel's great speech, when introducing his measure, was tinged with the melancholy of an enforced recantation. His palinode could not be transposed into a song of triumph. Even after the Bill was passed, and when Catholics took their seats in Parliament, the measure was allowed for a long period to remain a dead letter, so far as concerned their appointment to offices of trust. O'Connell, in particular, was excluded from the post of Attorney-General for Ireland, to which his talents, his standing at the bar, and his vast influence entitled him. By a miserable quibble he was made to undergo another election for Clare, as the Act was held not to be retrospective. By rendering timely justice, in a spirit of conciliation and equity, and with true political foresight, the Government might have spared the country the bitterness, the evil passions, the cost, and the turbulence of a protracted struggle. Thirty years of hopes deferred, of rights withheld, of oppression and contumely, of discontent and agitation, had exasperated the people of Ireland against English rule. They compelled their oppressors ignominously to surrender; and, owing them no gratitude, were ripe for future disorders.

If, even then, the policy initiated by Thomas Drummond, the upright, efficient, and fearless Under-Secretary in Dublin from 1835 to 1840, had been honestly continued by his successors, the modern story of Ireland would be very different. He had the courage to tell rack-renting landlords, in a phrase now proverbial, that property has its duties as well as its rights; and he refused the armed assistance demanded to enforce their extortions and evictions. They never forgave him. The excessive rents; the absenteeism; the drain of money; the decay of agriculture, of fisheries, and of trade; with the consequent poverty, sickness, and misery, have compelled the enactment since the Act of Union of nearly fifty measures for providing exceptional relief, at enormous cost. While the terrible agrarian outrages are justly condemned, it is needful to remember their causes and the provocation. The awful famine years in the fifth decade of the century compelled attention to the state of Ireland, in a way that the mole-like inquiries of Royal Commissioners and Select Committees, with their thousands of questions and answers, and their voluminous and conflicting reports, had wholly failed to do. The year 1829 also witnessed the final absorption of the Isle of Man into the British Empire. It had been held by various nobles, under royal grants, since the time of Edward I. The sovereignty was purchased for £70,000, in 1765 from the Duke of Athol, with certain manorial reservations and patronage, which were now finally acquired for £430,000, so as to incorporate the island with the general Customs' system. The ancient legislation of the Tynwald Court and of the House of Keys is perpetuated, with various local customs and laws, and the Church has its own canons and an independent Convocation, though the bishopric is attached for certain purposes to the province of York.

Demands for Parliamentary Reform continued to be made, in spite of repressive and vindictive measures adopted towards its advocates. Numerous petitions for its concession were presented whenever the Legislature allowed the wishes of the nation to find utterance. Pitt spoke in its favour in 1782 and 1783, when in Opposition. Three years later, he submitted a perfunctory Bill, to

buy up thirty-six rotten boroughs, at a cost of a million. It was rejected on its initial stage. Ever after, he was the resolute foe of Reform, and of other salutary changes which he once advocated. He first abandoned, and at last proscribed and persecuted, his old associates, as Lord Grey publicly accused him in 1794, after the outbreak of the French War had been used as a means of terrifying the timid, and of silencing all opposition. Occasionally the subject was discussed within the walls of St. Stephen's; as in 1790, when Henry Flood introduced a plan for increasing the county representation. Pitt replied, in the usual official vein, that the time was inopportune. He resisted similar proposals twice in the next seven years. Grey found only forty-one supporters of his measure in 1793. The project slumbered until 1809, when a motion by Sir Francis Burdett had fifteen votes, Ten years later, he revived it; but in vain. Subsequently he abandoned his party; alleging that they were paying court to Daniel O'Connell in the agitation against the Established Church in Ireland. In this way the man who had professed to be an ultra-Radical, though always of a semi-patrician type, and who had been incarcerated in the Tower in 1810 for a letter written to his constituents, denying the right of the House of Commons to imprison, ended his career as a Tory. Like many other popular leaders, he had his own ends to serve; and his followers were duped, misled, and then abandoned. He once had the bad taste to sneer at the cant of patriotism; exposing himself to the obvious and crushing retort from Lord John Russell that the recant of patriotism was far worse. That nobleman, whose diminutive stature and extreme juvenility led to his being called a duodecimo edition of statesmanship, took charge of the measure in 1820, and was supported by the Whigs, whose early proposals were tentative and halting. They dealt merely with a few gross cases of corruption; like the notorious rotten borough of Grampound, which was disfranchised in 1821, after several failures. Other abuses, such as the wholesale and shameless bribery that prevailed, the absence of representation of many large towns, the perplexing varieties of franchise, and the dangerous power exercised by a few rich

peers and squires, as already described, were discussed year after year from 1820; but the proposed remedies were rejected by mechanical majorities, formed chiefly of representatives of pocket-boroughs and obscure villages, who had not the patriotism to commit political suicide.

Resistance within the Legislature only intensified the agitation outside. Riots were imminent in the large towns, and the rural districts were disturbed. Edicts were issued under the pseudonym of "Swing," and some farmers' ricks were consumed by incendiary fires, and houses were pillaged. As in so many similar instances, reasonable concessions were refused; and, as a result, much more had to be conceded. England was brought within measurable distance of revolution in order to effect constitutional changes which are now universally admitted to have been necessary and just. Some of the cleverest skits of John Doyle ("H. B.") appeared in connection with this subject. When the first Parliament met under William IV. (b. 1765, 1830–7), Earl Grey (1704–1845), leader of the Whig party in the House of Lords, urged the necessity for immediate Parliamentary reform, on account of prevalent destitution and discontent. One person in six was a pauper. Universal bankruptcy threatened the trading class. The country was suffering from the extreme of the reaction after the long war. There were ominous signs of further European troubles, like the Revolutions in Brussels and in Paris, the latter of which displaced Charles X. and raised Louis Philippe (b. 1773, 1832–1848, d. 1850) to the throne as the boasted Citizen-King. Replying to Grey, Wellington, in whose eyes all political reformers were seditious, to be dealt with by the bullet, the sword, or the hangman's rope, and who thought that intimidation and repression form the art of governing, uttered his notorious declaration, in November, 1830, that no reform was necessary; that the existing Legislature fully answered all good purposes; that, if he had to frame one for another country, he would seek to produce similar results; and that, so long as he was a member of the Government, he should resist any such measure.

This note of defiance on the part of Wellington was

too much to be borne. It surprised and annoyed Peel. The state of public feeling was such that the Duke was hooted in the streets; and, not long after, the windows of Apsley House, his London residence, were smashed. He never had the damage repaired; but left the closed shutters as a mute protest against the fickle mob that had once idolized him. Within a month of his speech, the Cabinet was ousted by an adverse vote on the Civil List, some Tories assisting, in order to gratify their revenge on Peel. Grey was charged with the formation of a new Ministry. A Reform Bill that would not now be regarded as democratic, still less as revolutionary, was submitted by Lord John Russell; but the task of piloting and carrying it largely devolved, as Lord John admitted, upon Lord Althorp (1782–1845), afterwards third Earl Spencer, then Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the Commons; described by Francis Jeffrey as "quite delightful in his calm, clumsy, courageous, immutable probity." The second reading was carried by only one vote in a House of 603; and on the Committee stage, it was defeated by eight votes. A dissolution took place. Political Unions were formed throughout the country. The cry raised was, "The Bill! the whole Bill! and nothing but the Bill!" It was finally carried in the new House, September 21, 1831, by 345 to 230 votes. The Committee stage was protracted over forty nights, and the minority resorted to every device allowed by the forms of the House to delay, if not to defeat the measure. It was contumeliously rejected by the Lords; Brougham's stage-trick of falling on his knees and abjuring his brother Peers to pass it—a bad imitation of Burke's memorable dagger-scene—exciting deserved derision. Only one prelate, Bathurst, of Norwich, supported it, as he did the Catholic Emancipation Act. Twenty-one bishops voted against it, in resentment of Grey's monition to set their houses in order. He also said that to speak in that Chamber was like addressing dead men by torchlight.

The Commons instantly passed a vote of confidence in the Ministry. Great meetings were held in London and in all the chief towns in support of the Bill. Riots occurred in some places, and the country was profoundly

agitated. Parliament re-assembled in December, and the Bill was again passed, the Lords again rejecting it. The Cabinet asked for the fulfilment of the King's promise to create enough new peers to swamp the opposition. He hesitated and demurred, and at length refused; and on May 10, 1832, the Cabinet resigned. Wellington was sent for, and then Sir Robert Peel. The latter declined the hazardous task; and a threat of the former, that he would govern by martial law, was never forgotten or forgiven. Many persons among the wealthy middle classes declared they would pay no taxes; and influential petitions were addressed to the House to refuse all supplies. A panic ensued, causing a run upon the banks, instigated by placards with which London was covered one night:—"To stop the Duke—Go for gold!" In the crisis, the King was compelled, reluctantly and with bad grace, to reinstate the Grey Ministry; but, in order to be spared the necessity for new creations of peers, he caused a private note to be addressed to some of the influential opponents of the Bill, asking them, as a personal favour, to abstain from voting against it. In this way it was read a third time, June 4, 1832, and instantly became law.

Incidentally, the crisis defined the limits of the sovereign's powers and those of the House of Lords; and marked the final stage of the struggle between the personal predilections of a monarch and the advice of Ministers, ending with the capricious dismissal of the Melbourne Cabinet two years later. The county constituencies of England were increased by subdivision from 52 to 82, and their members from 94 to 159. Fifty-six small and corrupt boroughs, returning 111 members, were wholly disfranchised; and thirty boroughs, having a population of less than four thousand, lost one member; but others, with constituencies of only two or three hundred, were allowed to retain two members, owing to local influences. No measures were adopted to repress open bribery and corruption, which became worse, and more scandalous. A Bill passed in 1841, and later attempts, proved ineffectual, in spite of repeated suspensions and the occasional disfranchisement of some of the worst boroughs. The seats gained by the Reform Bill

were allotted to London, Manchester, Birmingham, and other large places. The borough franchise was extended to occupiers of tenements worth ten pounds yearly, and the county franchise was enlarged by admitting copyholders, leaseholders, and fifty-pound annual tenants. Their time of polling was shortened from fifteen days to two; and in all cities and boroughs it was limited to one day. Lord Durham was in advance of most of his colleagues, and would have gone much further. When in the House of Commons in 1821, he had taken his stand on household suffrage, vote by ballot, and triennial Parliaments.

The Irish franchise remained unaltered, with one slight exception in 1850, when it was extended to eight-pound householders in boroughs; but that of Scotland was enlarged. Hitherto, its county electors had numbered only 2500 and those in boroughs 1440. Edinburgh and Glasgow had 33 each. An end was put to the ancient anomaly whereby county members were returned by none but landed proprietors, and borough members by Town Councils. The number of voters was raised four-fold, to about 850,000. Revising barristers were appointed by the circuit judges, in an objectionable exercise of patronage, to settle the lists annually, earning a fee of three hundred guineas for three or four weeks' perfunctory work. Ever since, the object of each political party has been to keep off the register as many of the other side as possible. The general effect of the measure was to curtail the power and influence of the landed interest, by transfer to the commercial and manufacturing classes, who, in process of time, with increase of wealth, naturally became to a large extent Conservatives. It has never been the custom in England to seek the attainment of ideal perfection in legislative and administrative matters, but rather, as Burke advocated, to advance slowly and cautiously by a system of compromises and checks. Ardent enthusiasts and political dreamers anticipated greater advantages from the Reform Bill than events justified; and terror-stricken opponents augured disastrous results; but the hopes of the former were somewhat disappointed, and the fears of the latter proved baseless. The measure

did not prove to be final, as some of its authors and advocates fondly anticipated, nor did it go so far or so fast as strenuous supporters desired. But it met an urgent need, and pacified a strong popular feeling. Quiet and confidence were restored after a time. Trade and manufactures revived, and the nation breathed freely when the storm was weathered and a harbour of safety was reached. Full details of the protracted struggle are given by such writers as Molesworth, Roebuck, and Martineau. The general history since the Peace of 1815 is recorded by the last-named author, by Spencer Walpole, by Justin McCarthy, and by innumerable compilers of the memoirs and correspondence of leading statesmen of the century.

The first Reformed Parliament met in January, 1833. One hundred and seventy-two Conservatives were confronted by a solid phalanx of four hundred and eighty-six Liberals; making the total number of members until the year 1885, when it was increased by twelve. Much, however, remained to be done by way of redressing grievances of long standing. Political and social empirics abounded, all of whom had their patent nostrums. Robert Owen (1769–1858), an unselfish but dreamy philanthropist, caring naught for politics or creeds, had his own views of regenerating society, like St. Simon, Fourier, Enfantin, and Proudhon. He propounded a scheme that collapsed like a house of cards, because the selfishness, thriftlessness, and indolence of human nature could not be eradicated, and because of the absence of common-sense and business tact in the selected managers. His socialistic and religious opinions were extreme; but a more amiable and benevolent man never lived. If his plans were impracticable, his motives were pure. He prompted the Factory Act, which the first Sir Robert Peel carried; but Owen had voluntarily put it in practice in his co-operative mills at New Lanark. He was in advance of his age, and some of his later projects, like the one at New Harmony, in Indiana, were not feasible, for they pre-supposed an impossible idyllic state. They were followed by scores of similar plans in America, such as the futile experiment of the Oneida Community, or the one at Brook Farm, most of

which ended in disaster or disgrace. Communism can be rendered practicable only by an entire change in human nature, as Bradford shows, in his 'History of the Plymouth Plantation' (pp. 135 6), where the experiment failed, even under favouring conditions. That it was attempted in England speaks more for the goodness than for the intelligence of the projectors.

Enormous abuses had sprung up in every branch of the public service, mainly as the result of the long war. Pensions and sinecures abounded, while the poor starved and perished. It is almost incredible to read of the numerous lucrative offices, with absolutely no duties attached, as set forth in such works as 'The Black Book,' published in 1832, which, with some exaggerations, presents a vivid picture of the times. Its substantial accuracy cannot be impugned. Perpetual discussions were raised by a faithful few in the House of Commons; such as the notable one initiated on the Civil List, by George Tierney in 1810, when he exposed the extravagant and useless outlay of the Court. Fees of fabulous amount were paid to the holders of patent offices, the duties of which, such as they were, devolved upon deputies. An aristocratic clerk in the Rules and Orders Office was thus paid £5000 a year. Three prothonotaries in the Common Pleas returned their income as "seven thousand each, or thereabouts." Six Clerks of the Pells had £1500 each. Most of the judges placed their sons, nephews, and other relatives—often mere children—in well-paid posts in their gift, with no duties. One of the most scandalous cases was that of the Rev. Edward Thurlow, nephew of the Chancellor, who drew £11,000 for nearly fifty years from two patent but useless offices. It was the same through all the courts of law, the Revenue departments, and the Army and Navy. When offices were abolished, large pensions or compensations were paid to their holders, often with reversions to some favoured expectants, to console them for what they never had. A graphic account of the nefarious system that had been established in the course of time is given in the third Chapter of Trevelyan's 'Early History of Fox.'

The pruning-knife was applied to some of the more

notorious scandals. One salutary change was made in transferring from the Civil List to the direct control of the House of Commons numerous payments which had hitherto passed unchallenged; but the work of economy had to be continued for many years, in the face of much selfish opposition, and it is still incomplete. Indeed the modern official tendency is to swell the Consolidated Fund Charges, so as to prevent annual discussion. Another needed measure of reform was in the levying and administration of the poor-rates. Cobbett describes the condition of the poor and of the agricultural districts, in his 'Rural Rides,' undertaken between 1821 and 1832. A Royal Commission was appointed in the latter year to inquire into the subject. After careful investigation, it presented an elaborate report, with copious minutes of evidence, historical details, and local particulars, which may still be read with advantage. The recommendations were embodied in the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, which, among other things, provided for Unions of parishes, in order to economy and effective supervision, and constituted a central authority in London to which all local administration was to be subordinate. Within two years, wages were rising and rates were falling, surplus labour was diffused and absorbed, and the annual expenditure for the relief of the poor had diminished from seven millions to four. Some years later, special provision was made for pauperism in Scotland and Ireland; but the system awaits yet further adjustments to meet altered conditions, and to discriminate between misfortune which sometimes overtakes the industrious, and the self-entailed misery that pursues the drunken and the thriftless. Various Truck Acts were passed after 1830, to compel the payment of wages in money instead of in goods, often inferior, and sometimes worthless, as supplied by employers. A beginning was made in 1833 with legislation designed to protect children employed in factories. These helpless little creatures, virtually sold for the purpose, sometimes at the early age of five or six, were kept at work for twelve or more hours daily; and many died of fatigue, inanition, or ill-treatment. Slowly, and with much resistance, a change was effected, as the result

of the efforts of Richard Oastler, Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Joseph Rayner Stephens, Michael Thomas Sadler, and Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury.

A physical and moral condition of things was revealed which cannot now be read of without horror and indignation. The first Factory Act, applying only to apprentices in cotton and woollen works, had been passed in 1802, as mentioned on a previous page. It was followed at intervals during the next thirty years by other attempts at legislative control; more or less partial and ineffective, and always opposed by the great body of manufacturers. The rapid expansion of processes; the growth of the industrial population; the transfer of tens of thousands of women and girls from country homes to crowded and heated mills; with the impulse given to the employment of young children, at low wages and for long hours, in dusty factories and in dark and damp mines, led to consequences that no wise statesman could venture to disregard. In spite of interested opposition, various measures became law; resulting in the Ten Hours Act of 1847, and in many subsequent Statutes for the regulation of factories, workshops, bakeries, white-lead works, mines, and other industries. With the tendency to go to extremes, the modern danger lies in undue interference with adult labour; to the infringement of personal liberty, the derangement of industry and commerce, and the encouragement of rampant officialism and centralization.

The laws directed for five centuries against the right of workmen to combine, in order to sell their labour in the best market, had a barbarous origin and a chaotic history. They were repeated in 1824, after the usual struggle. Full particulars are contained in Francis Place's collection of papers, among the Additional MSS in the British Museum (27,708–27,806). The change was mainly the result of his persistent efforts, aided by Joseph Hume, M.P., who, notwithstanding eccentricities and defects, deserves to be honoured for his labours in the cause of economy and of justice. There was a re-enactment in 1825, with modifications; causing much uncertainty and difficulty in later years, as countenance was given to judge-made law about conspiracies alleged to

be in restraint of trade. In 1834, six poor agricultural labourers of Dorset were transported for seven years, for combining to raise their miserable wages of six shillings a week; the technical but monstrous charge being the taking of an oath on the admission as members of a Friendly Society, which was held to be illegal by a strained application of two Acts of 1797 and 1799 against sedition. This atrocious sentence was passed by Sir John Williams, one of the Barons of the Exchequer. The powers of Quarter Sessions to fix wages, and the system of compulsory apprenticeship, were withdrawn in 1814. In these ways, Trade Unionism ceased to be a crime. It was not, indeed, placed under legal protection, so far as the funds of the members were concerned, but it was no longer proscribed and punished. The Conspiracy Laws, and those affecting the relations of master and servant, remained in an unsatisfactory and unjust state for more than fifty years. With the relaxation, care was not taken to protect individual freedom of labour against picketing and intimidation. If men have a right to combine, they have an equal right to refuse to combine.

With altered conditions arising out of improvements in machinery, the growth of new industries, and the rapid expansion of trade and commerce, frequent contests arose between capital and labour, chiefly on questions of wages and hours of work. This was especially the case in the textile trades, and in those relating to coal and iron. Strikes on the part of the men provoked retaliation by employers, in closing their pits, or in locking up mills and factories. Sometimes, the order of procedure was reversed, the arbitrary action of masters arousing resistance on the part of the men. Faults were committed on both sides. Employers showed unreasoning resentment at what was termed interference and dictation; and an apprehension, quite as unreasoning, was felt by the men, of what they regarded as imposition and tyranny. It was forgotten that no combination of workpeople can force up wages when trade is bad, and when surplus labour is seeking employment; and that no combination of masters can depress wages when trade is good, or the number of workers is inadequate. If

Political Economists, with their dogmatic and opposing theories, have failed to arrive at an agreement, it is not surprising that other persons, with no pretensions to be philosophers, have made mistakes in seeking to adjust wages disputes by the clumsy methods of strikes and lockouts. They are costly, wasteful, and ruinous; like war, to be used only in the last resort; and they invariably entail terrible loss upon the victors as well as upon the vanquished. The principal disputes of the kind since the repeal of the Combination Laws occurred among the Lancashire cotton-spinners in 1829 and 1830; among the journeymen-tailors of London in 1834; the Staffordshire potters in the same year; the cotton-spinners of Preston in 1836, and again in 1854; the Durham colliers in 1844; the London builders in 1860 and 1872; the engineers of Newcastle in 1871; the South Wales ironworkers in 1873 and 1875; the London masons in 1877; the Lancashire cotton-trade in 1878; the London dockers in 1889; the great coal strike in 1893; with many others intervening.

A paper by the late William Newmarch was read before the Statistical Society of London in 1880, giving instructive particulars of the strikes of the previous decade. The total was 2,532, affecting 111 industries. The building trades headed the list, with nearly one-fourth of the total number, followed by the metal trades, with one-sixth; and by the colliers and miners, with nearly as many. The largest number, 473 in all, occurred in Scotland; and next came Yorkshire, with 388. Some involved many thousands of workpeople for several months. Approximately, the loss of time was estimated at 54,000 working days; and the money loss, in wages alone, at more than five millions; besides that sustained by employers, whose capital and machinery were unproductive; by shopkeepers, whose trade stagnated; by dependent industries, which were arrested; and by the revenue, in the diminished consumption of Exciseable articles. In addition, the domestic suffering and misery, from the exhaustion of savings, from the forced sale of furniture, from insufficient food, clothing, and fuel, and from diseases thereby caused, were incalculable. According to the Report of the Board of Trade for 1892—a year in

which there were comparatively few strikes, and only one of the first magnitude—the total number was 568, affecting nearly a quarter of a million persons. One-half were regarded as successful in achieving the object of higher wages. Of the others, one-third were partly so, and two-thirds failed. Upwards of a thousand establishments, employing twenty-nine per cent. of the workmen involved, placed before the Board the data contained in their books; and the conclusion is that the stoppage meant a loss in wages of £3,880,000. The reports of the principal Trade Unions, so far as they apply to about one-half of the strikes in that year, confirm the above result; showing, in respect of 121,367 persons, that the amount of weekly wages paid before the disputes was £11,000 more, besides the loss and suffering caused during the period of idleness. It is also admitted that with 166 strikes fought out to the bitter end, the men had to give place to others, or to submit unconditionally.

Much has been said and written upon this question, in the way of counsel or remonstrance, by well-meaning persons; but, after all, it can only be determined by enlightened self-interest. In some trades or districts, a system of mutual arbitration has successfully operated, resembling the French *Conseils de prud'hommes*. In others, a sliding-scale of wages is adjusted to the rise and fall of market prices, or an outside adjudicator gives a decision, after hearing both sides. In the end, the general conditions of trade, and especially the state of the labour-market, are the determining factors. Recent theories about the solidarity of labour, or limiting production, or a minimum rate of wages, or restricted hours, and attempts to create a gigantic International Federation of all labour, with a view to regulate the output, and so control prices, and maintain earnings at some arbitrary scale, are too new and crude to receive a final opinion; but the necessities of the individual workman, his aptitude and acquirements, his personal preferences in the nature and locality of his employment, and the claims of his own family, will always present serious difficulties to his becoming absorbed as a mere unit in an indiscriminate mass, and against setting up an artificial standard of value for all workmen. After much agitation, and tedious

inquiries by Select Committees and Royal Commissions, the whole subject of the Labour Laws was dealt with by Parliament between 1874 and 1880, in the passing of the Employers and Workmen Act, the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, the Merchant Shipping Act, one for regulating mines, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, by a consolidation of the Factories and Workshops Acts, and by a measure determining to some extent the vexed question of the liability of employers for injuries to their workpeople. Judicial decisions—the most objectionable methods of making laws—had long held that it was a crime for two or more persons to do what one might do with impunity, and that "common employment" precluded an ordinary workman from obtaining compensation for injuries caused by the neglect or inefficiency of a manager, or some one else in authority, engaged in the same works. These legal figments and quibbles were at length swept away. Substantial justice was done; but only after weary struggles, hopes long deferred, and some lamentable acts of violence, murder, and outrage at Sheffield and elsewhere. The largest collection of facts is to be found in the work on Trades Unions by Sidney and Beatrice Webb. George Howell has written with care and impartiality on the Labour Laws.

A necessary complement to the reform of Parliament was an efficient measure of Municipal Reform. In some instances, local authorities discharged their functions in a worthy manner, but many of the old Charters of Incorporation had become effete. The governing bodies created under them were small, and usually self-appointed. The members grasped all patronage for their own benefit, or that of connections and friends, or for sordid political purposes. The magistracy was incompetent; the police system so inefficient as to excite ridicule; and the local officials were irresponsible. The rates were excessive. There was virtually no control over the expenditure. Charitable trusts were wasted or stolen. Riotous feasting, bribery, and jobbery largely prevailed. Votes of dissolute freemen were openly bought and sold. A disgraceful state of things was revealed by a Commission of Inquiry appointed in 1833; and on June 5, 1835, Lord John Russell propounded the Government scheme, which

affected 178 corporations, or three-fourths of the total number. London was exempted, as a matter of policy, so as to disarm the opposition of the City authorities, and as part of a compact whereby Lord John Russell was to become one of its Parliamentary representatives; his brother, the Duke of Bedford, being too stingy to pay for his election expenses elsewhere. The measure erred also in not greatly extending the boundaries of boroughs, so as to include considerable portions of surrounding rural areas, which would have broken down the mischievous barrier thrown up by jealousy between agricultural, manufacturing, and trading interests. In respect to finances, charities, taxation, police, paving, lighting, the elective body, and other matters, salutary changes were made. The Bill passed the Commons with difficulty, and the Lords inserted some hostile amendments, such as restoring the franchise to pauper and venal freemen, with transmission to their posterity, depriving Town Councils of the nomination of borough magistrates, and causing aldermen to be chosen, not by the burgesses, but by the councillors. The last pernicious method was followed in the County Councils Act of 1888. The only Municipality that retains the ancient privilege of electing its aldermen by vote of the ratepayers is, strange to say, the unreformed Corporation of London. The Lords threw out an Irish Bill framed on the same lines as the Municipal Corporation Act, but another was introduced and became law in 1840.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

CHURCH REFORM AND EDUCATION.

A.D. 1833–1843.

THE granting of Catholic Emancipation led, after a short time, to the redress of some of the more serious evils connected with the Irish Church. It had been maintained for generations by the majority of the people—who regarded its tenets as heretical—for the benefit of

a small minority, numbering only 852,000, according to a census in 1834, even including the Methodists, who declined, most illogically, to be ranked as Dissenters. The Catholics were 6,500,000, and the Presbyterians, with all other non-Episcopal denominations, were 604,000. The hierarchy comprised four archbishops eighteen bishops, and a host of capitular dignitaries. The total revenue, including that of parochial benefices, was notoriously under-stated at £815,000, in Parliamentary Returns issued between 1833 and 1837, and in the Reports of Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Revenue and of Public Instruction. They also gave startling particulars of grants made since 1801, of £600,000 for church-building; of £330,000 for glebe-houses; of loans amounting to £324,000, most of which were never repaid; of a million in relief of tithe arrears; of more than a million for inefficient or worthless schools, besides large payments for other purposes.

The Reports told a melancholy story of the condition of many parishes. Not only was the Church a badge of ascendency, but it was the seat of abuses that were a scandal to religion and humanity. One hundred and sixty parishes had not a single Protestant, and 735 had fewer than fifty, and one-fourth of these had not ten each. The annual value of such livings was £117,000. In 608 parishes there was neither church nor glebe-house. Deans and chapters, mostly with no duties, absorbed £153,000 yearly, besides holding plural offices. The prelates, and notably the Beresfords and the Plunkets, took abundant care of themselves and their families. Earl Fitzwilliam wrote of the Beresfords that they were "in the full enjoyment of more emoluments than were ever accumulated in any country on any one family." Sir John Newport stated in the House of Commons that three Irish bishops had died within fifteen years, each leaving upwards of £700,000. Swift had said long before, in his splenetic manner, that the prelates were murdered on their way to Ireland by highwaymen, who took their robes and patents, and usurped the Sees. Besides inordinate stipends for doing little or nothing, the bishops exacted enormous fines on the renewal of leases, and bestowed their vast patronage in a spirit of

flagrant nepotism. Most were absentees, holding English deaneries and other well-paid offices. Many of the clergy followed their example, pleading that there was little or no duty to be performed! A tithe-war was constantly waging. Those who resisted payment were shot down by soldiers, and there were numerous arrests and prosecutions. Bernal Osborne, M.P., speaking at Wexford, July 30, 1831, said, in somewhat random fashion, that 20,000 persons had been butchered since the Union in enforcing tithes. During the next six years, 35,000 decrees were obtained in the law-courts, and several Tithe-Composition Acts had to be passed as temporary expedients. The condition of many of the poorer clergy was pitiable, and a sum of £60,000 was voted for their relief; but the state of tens of thousands of the peasantry was even more distressing, on account of the depth of their poverty.

Justice and policy alike demanded the abolition of such a legalized wrong, but this was not done for forty years. The Whigs were too deeply interested in its maintenance for the benefit of their political and family connections. They declared that the Protestant Church Establishment in Catholic Ireland must not be assailed, because its existence and its revenues were guaranteed by law; as if the Legislature could not alter or repeal laws which its predecessors had made, and as if any Acts of Parliament are valid against the dictates of reason and equity. The abuses could not be defended, but only the fringe of the question was touched. The main source of the wrong remained, and this was skilfully used by unscrupulous demagogues and agitators in demands for the repeal of the Union. One slight modicum of reform was conceded, in a tardy, hesitating, and discreditable manner, by the Irish Church Temporalities Act of 1833, which was passed before the facts were fully known, as the Commissioners had not completed their inquiries. It provided that as dioceses became vacant, they should be merged, until the archbishops were reduced to two, and the bishops to ten. The incomes were to be cut down after the death of existing holders. Thus the future Primate was to receive twelve thousand, instead of eighteen, and the Bishop of Derry eight, instead of

fifteen. Certain sinecures were abolished, with the odious impost of Church Cess for the repair of the fabrics; but a proposal made by the Government that the surplus revenue, estimated at three millions, derived from improved administration, should be applied to education, or to some other national purpose, raised the usual cry of spoliation and sacrilege, and was defeated. There was not the vestige of a pretence that the Act was passed for the benefit of the Irish nation. It was avowedly for the safety and aggrandizement of the clergy, who consented to it to avoid something worse, and were really placed in a better position by a rent-charge being substituted for tithes. The scandal remained that an exclusive Church Establishment was kept up for the sake of less than one-ninth of the population, while the great majority differed from its teaching, and denied the validity of the orders of its clergy, and the efficacy of the sacraments they administered.

Sir James Graham, Mr. Stanley—afterwards the Earl of Derby—and two other members of the Cabinet, seceded on the question of appropriating the surplus revenues to what they termed secular uses. Lord John Russell's acceptance of this proposal led to Stanley's famous saying,—"Johnny has upset the coach." William IV., replying in 1834 to a birthday address from the Irish prelates, speaking in his usual blunt, slipshod fashion, and with bibulous tears running down his cheeks, adopted the unconstitutional course of declaring himself resolute in defence of their Church, and in maintaining Protestantism in Ireland. Coming from such a monarch, the utterance was indicative of imbecility, if not of hypocrisy; but it served party purposes. It showed, also, that the Ministry had lost his confidence, if they ever really possessed it. They had been so embarrassed and weakened that Earl Grey resigned office, weary of its cares and disappointments. He was succeeded in July by Lord Melbourne, whose natural indolence and assumed airiness of manner prevented justice being done to his great abilities. His reconstructed Whig Cabinet was quickly and suddenly dismissed by the King in November, for no reason, save his personal dislike and Tory prejudice, and in revenge for having been compelled to yield in the matter of

Parliamentary Reform. This was the last instance of the caprice of an English monarch removing his responsible advisers without their being defeated or censured in Parliament. The unintended effect was to produce a strong reaction in favour of the Liberals, and to ensure for them a renewed lease of power, after a brief interval.

Sir Robert Peel was sent for from Rome. Out of loyalty, he formed a Cabinet, and then he appealed to the country, but failed to secure a majority. After repeated factious defeats in the Commons, he resigned in April. During the memorable Hundred Days of his Ministry, he skilfully and bravely fought a losing battle, on ground not chosen by himself. Though foiled, he was in no sense dishonoured. He was never personally popular. His cold and stiff bearing was attributed to hauteur; but it arose from shyness and natural reserve. "I have no small talk, and Peel has no manners," said Wellington, by way of explaining their joint failure. Melbourne was reinstated, and retained office until August, 1841. The only stipulation made was that Brougham should not resume the post of Chancellor, William IV. declaring in his bluff manner that he never wanted to see his ugly face again. Lalor Shiel said he was a bully and a buffoon. If left out, said Melbourne, he would be dangerous; but, if admitted, he would be destructive to the Cabinet. Imperious, self-willed, and unscrupulous; selfish, vain, and erratic; devoid of dignity or prudence; unfit to rule, and too turbulent to obey; always threatening desertion and prophesying ruin; an uncertain ally and a disloyal colleague; possessing an inexhaustible vocabulary of abuse, and meddling with miscellaneous subjects, it was remarked that he might have been any one of ten first-rate kinds of men, but that he tried to be all, and failed. Samuel Rogers (1763-1855), speaking of his departure from a country house, said,—"This morning, Solon, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Archimedes, Sir Isaac Newton, Lord Chesterfield, and a great many others, went away in one post-chaise." He took revenge upon his recent political associates by becoming their candid friend. He never again held office down to the time of his death in 1868, though he drew the pension, which he had increased, of £5000 a year.

His name, however, will be remembered with honour in connection with his labours in the cause of education, for the abolition of the slave-trade, and on behalf of social reform, long after his devious career as a politician and a place-hunter has been forgotten. One of the most useful, if unpretentious movements, of which he was an instigator and the patron, is the Howard Association for the promotion of the best methods for the treatment and prevention of crime, pauperism, &c. Its secretary, William Tallack, has rendered valuable service in diffusing information, and in creating a sound public opinion, especially by his work on 'Penological and Preventive Principles,' which is the standard authority on the subject.

The brief Ministry of Peel had been wrecked on an amendment to a scheme for appropriating the surplus revenues of the Irish Church to moral and religious purposes; the result of what was known as the Lichfield House compact between Daniel O'Connell and those whom he had denounced as "the base, brutal, and bloody Whigs." He also described the reformed House of Commons as "an assembly of six hundred scoundrels." The question of the surplus was raised several times during the next three years; but, in 1838, the Whigs abandoned it, while avowing that their convictions were unaltered, and they voted against it when brought forward by an independent member; stultifying themselves, and bringing down from Peel a stinging and deserved retort, and arousing the contempt of all honest and consistent men. The Irish Church question was shelved for a generation. The English Church did not escape the ordeal of severe criticism. The opposition of the Episcopal Bench and of most of the clergy to the Reform Bill was not forgotten or forgiven. An Ecclesiastical Commission appointed in 1831 had reported that the net revenues amounted to £3,500,000; a notorious underestimate. Two other Commissions sat in 1835 to inquire into possible changes respecting Church territory, income, and patronage; for the funds were most inequitably apportioned with regard to the work. The bishops absorbed £160,000 annually, and the Capitular bodies £217,000, besides enormous fines on the renewal of

leases. On one occasion, Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham from 1791 to 1826, swept into his coffers the sum of £70,000, arrears of colliery fines. The Commissioners' Reports are crowded with similar instances.

Appointments to high dignities in the Church were usually the rewards for political subserviency, or the price of securing a family connection for the party in power; or they were bestowed as marks of Court favour, or for editing a Greek play of more than dubious morality, or as a convenient method of recompensing a tutor, or in return for some scandalous service. Religious fitness, theological learning, administrative ability, and the qualifications set forth by St. Paul as essential to the office of a bishop, were the last things considered. How that office was used for the promotion of relatives is "writ large" in the memoirs of not a few prelates. It is needless to prolong the disgraceful recital by narrating the nepotism and avarice of deans and canons. They are fully set forth in the Parliamentary Returns of the time. Nearly 3000 clergymen were pluralists. One held eleven livings; another eight; five had seven each; twelve held six; sixty-four had five; and so forth. Fifteen churches in the diocese of Norwich were served by three brothers; the duties, in all such cases, being wholly neglected, or perfunctorily performed by deputy. Yet 134 clergymen were stated to be in receipt of incomes ranging from £1000 to £1500; and some had three, four, five, and, in one instance, seven thousand. Seventy rectories, with no duty whatever, yielded £19,000.

As contrasted with these prizes, 300 "working clergymen," to use an ordinary phrase of unconscious irony, received less than £50 per annum; 1600 had less than £100; and nearly 5000 were in receipt of not more than £200. A like number of curates had to subsist upon the merest pittance. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that Dissent rapidly increased, the registered chapels in 1812 being 4300. They had nearly doubled by 1836. In July of that year, an attempt was made to remedy the scandals; but all that could be done, and that with extreme difficulty, was a re-arrangement of dioceses and their revenues. Certain small Sees were united, and two new ones created at Ripon and at Manchester

The incomes were reduced, after the next vacancies, to the extent of £28,000. Proposals to deal with redundant capitular revenues, to improve poor livings, and to diminish the evils of pluralities and of non-residence, were defeated for the time. The Ecclesiastical Commission was incorporated in 1830, and its powers were enlarged by later Acts. Vast funds were allotted for church extension and for the increase of poor benefices. How far these objects were attained may be gathered from a letter written in December, 1857, by Lord John Russell to Archbishop Sumner, complaining of the Commission's neglect of duty, and of the frittering away of resources. Two good ends had been obtained in other directions by the intervention of Parliament. The hoary abominations known as the Ecclesiastical Courts had their powers over laymen curtailed in 1840, and were swept away twenty years later, at an enormous cost for pensions and compensations to the holders of sinecure offices. The vexatious and irritating practice of paying tithes in kind, after long existence and frequent condemnation, gave place in 1837 to a rent-charge, determined by the average market price of corn during seven years, leading to a general commutation.

Opposition to the removal of Jewish disabilities for municipal and Parliamentary offices, on account of the words, "on the true faith of a Christian," appended to the oath, was manifested whenever this act of justice was proposed. The City of London was the first to confer the freedom upon a Jew, in the case of Sir David Salomons, and to admit him to the shrievalty in 1835. Two years later, he was elected an alderman, and he became Lord Mayor in 1853. Meanwhile, the doors of Parliament were rigidly closed. Archbishop Howley declared in his place there, in 1833, that the moral and intellectual capacities of Jews were not such as to entitle them to any share in the Legislature. Twenty bishops voted against a Bill for their admission, and most of them continued to do so down to 1858, whenever the measure was brought forward. Baron Lionel de Rothschild was repeatedly chosen as one of the members for the City, but the oath precluded him from taking his seat until that year, when the House ended the difficulty by a resolution.

The attitude of the clergy towards elementary education was mentioned in Chapter LXXIII. Their indifference or opposition increased with the attempts made by philanthropic persons to stem the tide of popular ignorance. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1740–1827), director of a Swiss orphan-home, deserves honourable mention as having been the first to expose the folly of the ancient lack of method in teaching children by forcing into their minds a crude mass of facts, instead of adopting a graduated course suited to their capacity, and calculated to draw forth and strengthen their mental powers. He sought to educate through the senses, immediately from the object. In encouraging self-development, and in the avoidance of arbitrary and unreasoning acquisition, he was the forerunner of Friedrich Fröebel (1780–1852), who, after studying Pestalozzi's system, founded that of the Kindergarten. James Pierrepont Greaves was one of the first to introduce the former system into England, by opening a school at Ham, in Surrey. Joseph Lancaster (1771–1838), a young Quaker, laboured strenuously towards the same end; the distinguishing feature being the employment of the elder pupils as monitors. In this way, partial knowledge percolated through a few half-taught pupils to a number of ignorant and undisciplined scholars. The supporters of this method, which was soon modified, and then abandoned, established the British and Foreign School Society in 1805, with the design, as the benevolent Quaker, William Allen, said, of providing "Schools for All," in which the Scriptures should be daily read. Its unsectarian character was distasteful to many Episcopalians, who, in an outburst of spasmodic energy, founded, six years later, on a system devised by Dr. Andrew Bell, of Madras, the National Society for Educating the Children of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. Two rigid rules were laid down; that the Catechism should be taught, and that all pupils should be required to attend school and church on Sunday, to which some clerics of the Archdeacon Denison type added a third, that every child must be christened in cases where the rite had not been performed by a duly-appointed clergyman. This was the beginning of

the miserable denominational warfare in the work of education which has aroused bitter animosity, and has caused much delay, ill-temper, and mischief. Earl Russell, who, with the Duke of Sussex and Lord Brougham, warmly supported the British Society, has left on record his opinion that "even the Liberal clergy in those days were generally opposed to the education of the poor; but, finding the cause of education made progress, they agreed in 1811 to set up the National Society. It has been aided by rich peers and squires, and by the well-endowed clergy of the Church. It has been during more than sixty years a powerful organ of proselytism. It was explained to me by Bishop Blomfield and Archbishop Howley that, although the children of Dissenters might be admitted to the schools of the Society, that could only be considered as an indulgence, and could not be conceded as a right."

The awful profundity of the superstition then existing is shown by the fact that thousands of persons continued to believe in Joanna Southcott, who died in 1814, expecting that she would rise again and give birth to the Saviour, as she had predicted during many years. Nor can much excuse be found for the grotesque vagaries of the Gift of Tongues, in connection with what is commonly described as Irvingism; though the founder of the Catholic Apostolic Church, the Rev Edward Irving (1792–1834), with his marvellous but erratic powers, is not to be held accountable for the peculiar views and practices of his followers. Starting in his career as assistant to Dr. Thomas Chalmers, in Edinburgh, he came to London, to the Caledonian Church, Hatton Garden, and for two or three years took the town by storm with his extraordinary eloquence. His friend and classmate, Thomas Carlyle, says, "Fashion crowded round him, with her meteor-lights and Bacchic dances; breathed her foul incense on him; intoxicating, poisoning . . . mad extremes of flattery, followed by madder contumely, indifference and neglect." When the fickle public became tired of their pulpit idol, he went from one phase to another, and was at length deposed by his Presbytery, but continued to preach to a large body of adherents. There seems to be a kind of periodicity in

the human mind, even amidst the boast of knowledge and refinement, to pry into eschatology and to speculate on the unknown; as displayed in successive outbreaks of mesmerism, clairvoyance, electro-biology, table-turning, spirit-rapping, theosophy, hypnotism, and other attempts to cross psychological border-lines, which have characterized the nineteenth century. From the extreme of scepticism to that of credulity is often but a step.

The first Parliamentary grant for elementary education was made in 1833, to the extent of £20,000. It was continued year by year, and was increased in 1839 to £30,000, or less than one-third of the annuity to the Queen-Dowager, Adelaide Amelia of Saxe-Meiningen. At the same time, £70,000 were being spent on the royal stables at Buckingham Palace. In that year Archbishop Howley carried in the House of Lords an address to the Crown, protesting against grants-in-aid to any but Episcopalian schools. Twenty years later, the grants had risen to £750,000, disbursed under the authority of a Committee of the Privy Council, which the House of Lords prayed the Queen not to sanction. The interval has witnessed unceasing efforts on the part of doctrinaires and officials to practise—by means of Revised Codes without number, compiled by unknown clerks in the name of "My Lords"—the literary and scholastic gymnastics loosely but erroneously called Education. The religious element has ever been a bone of contention; for ecclesiastical parties have shown a tendency to be suspicious and jealous of one another. Nonconformists, prone to exercise vigilance and to act on the defensive, remembering former struggles, have not always displayed that breadth and practical regard of circumstances which the country had a right to expect. A notable instance occurred in 1843, when Sir James Graham (1792–1861), as Home Secretary, brought in a Bill for regulating the employment of children and young persons in factories, and for the better education of children in factory districts, at an expense not exceeding threepence per week. He adopted the principle that had been successfully carried out by the British and Foreign School Society, of teaching the Scriptures without dogmatic creed, or doing more than give the grammatical and obvious meaning of the

words. Extreme persons on both sides took alarm; some, because the measure did not go far enough; others, because they feared that it went too far, although its operation was restricted to large cities.

The debate resolved itself into one of theological polemics, and cannot be perused now without a feeling of astonishment, excepting for the melancholy fact that every generation is troubled with similar displays of narrowness and fanaticism. Leading and representative Nonconformists, standing on the extreme edge of a theoretical and an impossible Voluntaryism, went so far as to deny that the State had anything whatever to do with education, which, they urged, should be left to voluntary efforts. They would not concede that every child should be placed in a position to acquire the rudiments of knowledge. Sir James Graham, whose spirit and language throughout the angry discussion were admirable, was surprised at the outbreak, and also at the unreasoning opposition of narrow and extreme Episcopalians, who complained that the rights and privileges of the Established Church were not adequately secured by the measure. He disclaimed any wish to interfere with religious liberty, or to act with unfairness to any class or creed; and he denied that the Bill was designed to accomplish the ends attributed to it. In order to placate opponents, some important details were modified; but nothing would pacify them. He then withdrew the educational clauses of the Bill, saying that he did so reluctantly, and with much regret:—"I never discharged a public duty with greater pain." He hoped that it might have been possible to obtain general concurrence in a scheme of national education based on the principles of Scripture teaching, without any attempt to inculcate peculiar tenets; and he added that he had framed the clauses honestly, sincerely, and in a tolerant spirit, but had encountered angry opposition. The result was to put back for nearly thirty years the needed work of a general scheme of elementary instruction. Nearly all were willing that the multitude should be left in ignorance and barbarism—no longer, as formerly, inert, prostrate, and obsequious, but rankling, fermenting, and dangerous—rather than not make some specific, dogmatic creed, as apart from the general and

universally-accepted principles of morality and religion, a chief thing in the curriculum. John Foster was one of the enlightened few who discerned the danger, and who protested against the narrowness and the injustice of this policy. He reprinted his famous 'Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance,' and warned his Nonconformist friends of their suicidal and unpatriotic course. But they refused to take heed.

The clergy also, as a body, opposed every plan—including the introduction of the Conscience Clause in 1858, and the method of payment by results—which did not give them the control of education; although, for the most part, they had neglected it for generations. They had kept in their own hands, since 1662, the key of knowledge, so far as regards the national Universities, from which all who could not submit to rigid Tests were rigorously excluded. They had retained for centuries control of the ancient endowed grammar-schools, many of which had lapsed through sheer neglect, and nearly all of which had become effete and practically useless. According to a statement by W. E. Forster in the House of Commons, March 15, 1869, there were then 782 grammar-schools, not including the seven great foundations like Eton and Harrow, with a gross income of £345,757; and 2175 others, with a total endowment of £247,480. Properly administered, these enormous sums ought to have been used for secondary and middle-class education, but the waste and the abuses were so notorious that a Commission was appointed for a period of four years, to prepare new schemes for submission to Parliament, regard being had to the utmost toleration of religious opinions. Nonconformists, however, were not represented on it, or among the inspectors appointed; and, with the best intentions, the working of the new method was not regarded as satisfactory. In 1874, the duties and powers were transferred to the Charity Commissioners, a body created in 1853, and intended to supervise local trustees. Various duties have been added from time to time by Parliament; and it is asserted that other powers have been arrogated, with the uniform tendency of bureaucracy, to the supersession of local knowledge and control.

Nor did the clergy approve of the institution of a national system of registration of births and deaths, in 1836; when, also, marriages were authorized elsewhere than in churches, to which they had been restricted since the Act of 1753 that abolished the scandalous Fleet Prison marriages. The change was attended with the incidental advantage of removing a tacit slur from Dissenters; arising from the fact that the imperfect parochial registration heretofore existing was ecclesiastical, and not civil. They were now enabled to have marriages solemnized in their own places of worship, or in the Registrar's office, his presence, however, in either case, being required to give validity. Proposals to allow their ministers to make entries that shall be deemed legal records, as is done by the Society of Friends, have been resisted, on the strained plea that this would constitute them State officials. Nor does the lurking spirit of priestcraft among them allow of marriage being regarded as a civil contract, to which, when completed as prescribed by law, religious sanction may be added by a special service conducted elsewhere. The clergy submitted to the change with ill grace and after strenuous resistance; being fearful of any encroachments on what are always regarded as their vested interests. In like manner, at a later period, they opposed the opening of public cemeteries—rendered needful by sanitary considerations—unless their prescriptive rights to exact mortuary fees were conceded; just as they resisted the throwing open of the national burial grounds to all parishioners, irrespective of creed; yielding only when they had secured continued payment of fees for services not rendered. References to clerical antagonism to equal justice and to popular progress have been made in earlier Chapters. Other instances might be adduced, especially of the attitude of resistance assumed by the prelates to most of the great measures of reform and of humanity; such as the slave trade, the death penalty for trivial thefts, Catholic Emancipation, the Reform Bill of 1832, Jewish disabilities, opening the Universities, the Corn Laws, and almost every other great political and social improvement. With a few honourable exceptions, the attitude of the bishops and clergy has been one of cold neutrality and indifference, where they have not

displayed open, active, and relentless opposition. Dr. Arnold of Rugby wrote:—"It is in vain to deny that the Church of England clergy have politically been a party in the country, from Elizabeth's time downwards, and a party opposed to the cause which, in the main, has been the cause of improvement. . . . Therefore it will not do for them to identify themselves with the nation, which they are not, nor with the Constitution, which they did their best to hinder from ever coming into existence."

CHAPTER LXXX.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND PHILANTHROPY.

A.D. 1820–1850

THE early decades of the nineteenth century were distinguished in a literary sense by a group of writers who had made their mark, in varying degrees, during the previous generation. Some of them continued to write until the middle of the century, though their best work lay in the earlier period. With mutations in style and in standards of taste, it is the inevitable lot of once popular authors to become neglected. They are now regarded with mild surprise when the story of their extensive popularity is told, with the large sums paid for their writings. George Crabbe (1754–1832), described by Byron as "Nature's sternest painter, yet the best," with his Dutch methods of poetry, and his minute delineations of rural life and character, received £3000 for his poems. But he had passed through a long and weary struggle, and Burke assisted him out of his own straitened means. Thomas Campbell (1777–1844), the dash and vigour of whose war-songs will always give him fame, similar to that earned by Charles Dibdin (1745–1814) and his sea-songs, issued 'The Pleasures of Hope' in 1799. It passed through three editions in twelve months, and brought him £1050. His 'Gertrude of Wyoming' yielded £1575. Thomas Moore (1779–1852), with playful wit and graceful learning, if fussy and conceited

because of his aristocratic Whig connections, charmed the world in 1800 with his 'Anacreon'; followed at intervals by 'Irish Melodies,' and 'Lalla Rookh,' for the latter of which Longmans paid him £3150.

A similar remark, as to popularity, applies to some extent to three other famous authors. Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834) was an omnivorous reader, a profound metaphysician, copious in monologue, and the writer of some of the finest poems in the language. Yet he was fitful and unpractical, and made no permanent contributions to literature worthy of his vast powers. He was a dreamer and a visionary, indulging in what Carlyle calls "transcendental moonshine"; and was addicted to the free use of opium, probably to mitigate sufferings caused by an occult and life-long disease. In this he resembled his friend, Thomas De Quincey (1785–1859), who also planned a great work on Political Economy, and a still more wonderful treatise on 'The Emendation of the Human Intellect,' neither of which saw the light. De Quincey is known, apart from his 'Confessions,' only as the writer of brilliant magazine articles, necessarily ephemeral, in spite of their marvellous character as prose-poems. Coleridge was an excellent and inexhaustible talker, according to Hazlitt, if allowed to start from no premisses, and to come to no conclusions. His talk was described by Carlyle as "spreading everywhither in inextricable currents and regurgitations like a lake or sea . . . so that, most times, you felt logically lost; swamped near to drowning in this tide of ingenious vocables, spreading out boundless, as if to submerge the world." He was the author of a method, rather than of a philosophy, and he spent his life in propounding questions which he never endeavoured to answer, and in projecting magnificent schemes which were never carried out. Charles Lamb compared him to an archangel a little damaged; and once said, in reply to an inquiry from Coleridge as to whether he had heard him preach, that he had never known him to do anything else

William Wordsworth (1770–1850), the second of the triad, was the poet of common country life; so pure and serene in consecration to a lofty purpose that it is needful to go back to the time of Milton to find a parallel. Early

friendship with Coleridge induced the joint production of the 'Lyrical Ballads,' in 1798. Long pondering led to the issue of 'The Excursion,' sixteen years later. With his philosophic meditation and his mystical communings with Nature, Wordsworth revealed in new forms the wide and varied domain of poetry, and did much, following in the steps of Cowper and Burns, to rescue it from the highly artificial condition of the eighteenth century. Robert Southey (1774–1843), the third member of what was called, somewhat derisively, the Lake School, "rare architect of many a wondrous tale," though laborious and profuse in writing both prose and verse, and though some of his poetry is flowing and stately, produced too much for abiding fame. He yielded to the temptation of contributing fugitive articles to reviews, and of compiling biographies for a transient literary market. The one on Nelson is alone likely to survive, and, in its way, may be regarded as a model of what such a work should be. His poetry, excepting a few ballads, was at no time popular, and is now almost forgotten. Southey and Wordsworth were Poets-Laureate in succession; but how little the Muse owes to royal patronage appears from the fact that the only other worthy occupants of the office are John Dryden and Alfred Tennyson. The Laureate's wreath, profaned by Colley Cibber and rendered despicable by Nahum Tate, Lawrence Eusden, and Henry James Pye, was contemned by Gray and by Sir Walter Scott.

That Great Magician, the Ariosto of the North (1771–1832), may be regarded as the creator of the modern historical romance, or the historical novel, which, in the sense of being fictitious history, is a contradiction in terms. Attempts in this direction had been previously made, especially in France by Voltaire and Rousseau, who have been followed, in different styles, and with varying degrees of success, by Alexandre Dumas, Eugene Sue, and Victor Hugo. Thiers and Lamartine wrote romance and called it history, as severe critics have alleged of Macaulay. Germany, Italy, Russia, and other countries, furnish specimens in their respective literature. The 'Cyropædia' and the 'Anabasis' of Xenophon are, in reality, historical romances; as may be said of Livy's

pictured page, of Sallust's inimitable sketches, and of the finished paintings of Tacitus. Scott, however, stands unrivalled, even if, for the purposes of his plot, or for the delineation of his characters, he used great freedom with historical facts. His affluence of knowledge and his power of imagination carried his readers captive. He had published in 1802 the 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,' and in 1805 the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel,' by which he became, at a bound, the most popular author of his day. He was moved, as Tourgenieff was in his descriptions of Russian peasantry, by the success of Maria Edgeworth in delineating Irish life, to attempt a similar task with Scottish character and history. In 'Waverley,' which appeared anonymously in 1814, he achieved the first of a new and splendid series of triumphs, and he continued to sway a large audience by his heroic verse and by his novels. If the latter have largely given place to other styles, and if Scott also, like Charles Dickens at a later day, wrote far too much for permanent renown, under the terrible incubus of debts and liabilities incurred in the ambition to become a territorial magnate, some of his works have a just claim to immortality.

Though Scott is often inaccurate in details, sacrificing truth to effect, and projecting modern opinions and sentiments into former times, he has probably influenced ordinary readers far more than any historian. Next to him stands Sir E. L. Bulwer, afterwards Lord Lytton (1803–1873), with his 'Harold,' and his 'Last of the Barons.' W. M. Thackeray achieved great success, in his own line, and for another purpose, with 'Esmond' and 'The Virginians.' Harrison Ainsworth, with his Newgate themes, and the highly sensational G. P. R. James, are extreme instances of prolific and diffuse romancists, whose mechanical productions, now fast passing into deserved oblivion, are wholly devoid of historical accuracy or verisimilitude. Many other writers have adventured themselves in this field, but none demand more than the incidental mention made elsewhere. Contemporary novelists like John Galt (1779–1839), Jane Austen (1775–1817), and Frederick Marryat (1792–1848) are so far eclipsed by Scott's great fame that full justice has not

been done to their real merits. Galt's 'Annals of the Parish,' 'The Entail,' and 'The Provost,' abound in stirring scenes and in powerful delineations of Scottish character. Jane Austen broke fresh ground, and portrayed the every-day life of the middle classes of her time, in 'Pride and Prejudice,' 'Sense and Sensibility,' and similar works, of which Macaulay never wearied. Henry Hallam (1778-1859) was the most illustrious member, if not the founder, of the school of philosophic historians, biographers, essayists, and critics, which included William Mitford, William Godwin, Sir James Mackintosh, John Foster, Dr. John Lingard, William Hazlitt, Isaac Taylor, and George Grote.

Lord Byron (1788–1824) said that he woke up one morning and found himself famous. He gave early promise of marvellous powers; combining, as in the case of Swift, extraordinary genius with a grossness that perplexed and pained ardent admirers, and that repelled many others, but attributable in each case to the taint of hereditary mental disease. Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822) was, on the whole, the greatest poetical writer of the age. Unwisely and harshly treated, his sensitive nature was driven into revolt against human formulas that led him to confound the essence of religion with its simulacra. His works, published before his career was cut short in Italy, at the age of twenty-nine, exhibit an affluence of mental wealth, an exquisite sense of beauty, and a power of language that will always command wonder and admiration. John Keats (1796–1821) published his fragments of 'Endymion' and 'Hyperion,' teeming with luminous description and brilliant imagery, by which, rather than by actual performance, he must be judged. The idle tale is still repeated, that he was killed by the unjust and savage criticisms of irresponsible reviewers. Hartley Coleridge (1796–1849) was a genius and a dreamer, like his father, and, also like him, his own worst enemy. Some of his Sonnets are of remarkable beauty, and rank scarcely below those of Milton and of Wordsworth. Charles Lamb (1775–1834), the gentle Charles, whom everybody loved, the silent hero of a terrible domestic tragedy, the Prince of graceful Essayists, was the precursor of a school of writers that includes,

besides many Englishmen, such American representatives as Nathaniel Hawthorne, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Charles Dudley Warner, and James Russell Lowell.

James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd; Allan Cunningham; Robert Bloomfield, the Farmer's Boy; H. F. Cary, the translator of Dante; James Montgomery, the Moravian hymn-writer; Dugald Stewart, Dr. Thomas Brown, George Combe, Jeremy Bentham, Dr. Thomas Chalmers, Dr. Thomas M'Crie, Dr. Adam Clarke, Sir William Hamilton, Bernard Barton, Bryan Walter Procter ("Barry Cornwall"), R. H. Barham of the 'Ingoldsby Legends,' Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby, Samuel Rogers, Walter Savage Landor, Robert Pollok of the 'Course of Time,' William Roscoe, Sharon Turner, and Thomas Hood comprise a galaxy of luminaries that shone resplendent in the literary firmament. Among them was a well-known group of lady-authors, like Hannah More, Frances Trollope, Frances Burney, Lucy Aiken, Joanna Baillie, Elizabeth Inchbald, Mary Russell Mitford, Felicia Hemans, Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, Jane Porter, and her sister Anna Maria. The name of Blue Stockings was applied in ignorant derision, from a supposed club of learned ladies and gentlemen; one of the latter, Benjamin Stillingfleet, grandson of the Bishop, being accustomed to wear blue worsted stockings. He was one of the first to revive the Sonnet, which had fallen into disuse since Milton's day. Useful, plodding service was rendered in the bye-ways of literary inquiry by William Hone and Isaac Disraeli. The son of the latter, Benjamin, subsequently Lord Beaconsfield, issued so early as 1827, when barely emerged from adolescence (b. 1805), his novel of 'Vivian Grey,' the first of a series of brilliant but extravagant and rhetorical romances, including 'Sybil,' 'Coningsby,' and 'Tancred,' in which prominent men were burlesqued under transparent disguises, and the writer's schemes of government and of society were propounded. He aimed at the formation of a Young England party; a curious and impossible attempt to combine Conservatism with Radicalism, and ended by becoming the leader of the Tories, the head of a Ministry, and the author of such florid and exaggerated novels with a purpose as 'Lothair' and 'Endymion.'

The year of Queen Victoria's accession witnessed the advent of a quatrain of great writers; viz., Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859), with his brilliant articles in the 'Edinburgh Review,' and his magnificent fragment of Whig history; Lytton, already named, with his glittering sensationalism; Charles Dickens (1812–1870), with genial drollery that often became grotesque caricature; and Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), with his protesting Jeremiads, his laudation of the Veracities and the Eternities, his extraordinary liberties with the English language, and his worship of the hero and of force. His great prose-epic, the 'French Revolution,' appeared in that year, 1837, his 'Sartor Resartus' having been published anonymously in 'Fraser's Magazine.' During the next forty years he issued other renowned works; but exposed himself to the charge of expounding in thirty-four volumes, and by incessant monologues that rivalled Dr. Johnson's, his favourite Gospel of Silence and the Everlasting No! The Kembles and the elder Keen divided the empire of the Stage. George Colman the younger, appointed in 1824 to the antique but useless office of Examiner of Plays, displayed in that capacity, like a reformed rake, a regard for public morals and for verbal prudery which he had never shown as a prolific writer. Originally designed as a censorship and a restraint upon criticisms on the Government, the office degenerated into the attempted exercise of functions alike impossible and an anachronism. Sir Francis Chantrey and Sir Richard Westmacott left some grand conceptions embodied in sculpture. Sir Thomas Lawrence, William Etty, Benjamin Robert Haydon, Sir David Wilkie, A. W. Callcott, John Constable, J. M. W. Turner, and many more, were distinguished painters.

Literature, science, and art, as well as politics, were treated with a breadth and a freedom of criticism, hitherto unknown, in the pages of the 'Edinburgh Review'; first issued in October, 1802, as the organ of the Whig party, under the editorship of Francis Jeffrey (1773–1850), whom Southey styled a mere homunculus, from his diminutive stature. It was followed, seven years later, by its Tory rival, the 'Quarterly,' edited by William Gifford (1756–1826); a severe, if not

a savage critic, the translator of Juvenal, and author of various satirical works, such as 'The Baviad,' which was directed against and completely crushed the romantic and ridiculous Della Cruscan school. The 'Eclectic Review' appeared about the same time, as a monthly issue, and for a lengthened period swayed literary and political opinion, mainly through the splendid articles, nearly two hundred in number, contributed by John Foster (1770–1843). His famous 'Essays' showed their author to be, according to Mackintosh, "one of the most profound and eloquent writers that England has produced." A selection from Foster's contributions was published the year after his death, and, with his 'Life and Correspondence,' by Ryland, ranks among the classics. The quarterly periodicals, which Russell Lowell calls the megatheria of literature, which various monthly magazines like the 'Christian Remembrancer,' and with the newspapers, enlisted the services of the best writers of the day; but the liberty of the Press continued to be restrained, partly by Government prosecutions, and partly by the oppressive Taxes on Knowledge. In 1834, Alderman Abel Heywood, of Manchester, was imprisoned for four months, by what was afterwards admitted to be a straining of the law, for refusing to pay cumulative fines for selling unstamped publications which were in no sense newspapers. Upwards of five hundred persons suffered for a similar reason during the fourth and fifth decades of the century, and some of them were ruined. Premises were searched, shopmen arrested, letters opened, presses and type confiscated, and repeated penalties and consecutive incarcerations were imposed by judges who acted with gross illegality, as was subsequently shown. Henry Hetherington, William Carpenter, Richard Carlile, John Cleave, and James Watson deserve to be remembered as pioneers of a free press in a time of calumny and peril. Cowper's noble tribute to patriots and martyrs, in the Fifth Book of 'The Task' is both beautiful and true. The advertisement duty was not wholly removed until 1853; the last penny of the stamp duty in 1855; and the duty on paper five years later; after long and hard struggles on the part of the friends of popular education and of cheap and wholesome literature, much of which was issued at a heavy loss.

Science had distinguished votaries in Sir David Brewster, Sir John Herschel, Professor J. P. Nichol, Dr. Neil Arnott, J. C. Loudon, and Robert Mudie. Mary Somerville disproved the common prejudice as to woman's incapacity for scientific thought. The application of steam to manufactures and to locomotion, and a cheap and expeditious system of postage, led to constant experiments and discoveries in electricity for purposes of swift communication. Gibbon narrates how, in the time of the Second Roman Empire, fire signals were transmitted from one mountain to another over a range of 500 miles. Similar means were employed down to the Spanish Armada, and subsequently. During the great French War, semaphores with moving arms were reared on the hill-tops, and by a code of signals messages were "telegraphed" between the coast and London. The word was in common use long before it was applied in a modern sense. Thales, of Miletus, about 600 B.C., refers to the fact that amber, when rubbed, attracts light and dry bodies. This was the only circumstance connected with electricity that was known for more than two thousand years, until the time of William Gilbert, a physician of Colchester, referred to in the forty-sixth Chapter. He invented the word "electricity," from the Greek form of the word "amber," and was the first to point out that this is not the only substance which, when rubbed, attracts light objects, but that the same property belongs to the resins, to sealing-wax, sulphur, glass, and other substances. He contrived the plan of measuring the excited electricity by means of an iron needle moving freely on a pivot. Galileo, his contemporary, pronounced him great to a degree that might be envied; and the publication of his treatise, 'De Magnate,' will always be regarded as constituting an epoch in the history of magnetism, which, with electricity, he correctly regarded as allied emanations of a single force. The above work is the basis of all subsequent investigation, and, according to Whewell, "contains all the fundamental facts of the science, so fully examined, indeed, that even at this day we have little to add to them."

By slow degrees, and at fitful intervals, electric

machines were constructed, the generation being effected usually by rubbing cloth upon glass. The Leyden Jar was accidentally discovered in that city by Muschenbroek, in 1746, although, as is the case with many scientific facts and methods, the honour has been claimed for others. Following out the hints dimly furnished by Boyle, Newton, and von Guericke of Magdeburg, Benjamin Franklin, Hans Christian Oersted, Sir Humphry Davy, Andrew Ampere, and others made curious researches soon after the middle of the eighteenth century. Franklin, by his famous kite experiments, in 1752, proved the identity of lightning and electricity. This was shown also, about the same time, by Romas, of Nerac, in France. Later researches led to the marvellous discoveries of Alessandro Volta and of Lewis Galvani, and to the addition of the new branch of the science which bears his name. Even now, only the fringe has been touched in the application of electricity. Its practical application for purposes of telegraphic communication was not effected before 1837, when Sir Charles Wheatstone, in London, Samuel F. B. Morse, in New York, Steinheil, in Munich, and other experimentalists, like Michael Faraday, Cooke, and Henry, independently of one another, made their discoveries about the same time. In a similar way, the Calculus was found by both Sir Isaac Newton and Baron Leibnitz; and the place of Neptune or Uranus in the Solar System was determined among the planets by both John Crouch Adams and Urban J. J. Leverrier in 1846. Investigations into the properties of light, and its action upon chloride or nitrate of silver, first made by Thomas Wedgwood and Sir Humphry Davy, as published in the 'Journal' of the Royal Institution of London in 1802, slowly led to the inventions of Lewis James Daguerre, in 1839, for fixing on copper plates images reflected in the camera obscura of Baptista Porta, of Padua, a method that gradually yielded to the cheaper and simpler process of photography.

In this way, modern science calls into being great and lucrative industries. Railways created the profession of civil engineering, and gave a marvellous impulse to the production of iron and steel. The discovery of gutta percha provided a tough, flexible, non-conducting sub-

stance for the electrician in his attempts to transmit messages through water. England and France were connected by telegraphic wires on August 28, 1850, and Europe and America in 1858, precursors of submarine cables all over the world. The first half of the century was also distinguished by such ingenious and important inventions as Sir David Brewster's dioptric system for lighthouses, his kaleidoscope, and his researches into the polarization of light and other departments of natural philosophy; by Schönbein's gun cotton, in 1845; Liebig's meat extract, in 1847; the general introduction of paraffin oil for illuminating purposes, in 1850; and the employment of chloroform as an anæsthetic, by Sir J. Y. Simpson, of Edinburgh, in 1847, in lieu of ether. At the same time, Dr. W. T. G. Morton, of Boston, Massachusetts, was carrying on investigations which led to his employment of ether in several critical operations that proved successful. Until these discoveries, there were no anodynes for mitigating human pain, and rendering sufferers unconscious beneath the surgeon's knife.

Research and experiment have been busy during the second half of the nineteenth century, which has witnessed numerous inventions and discoveries. Sir Henry Bessemer and Sir William Siemens brought the manufacture of steel to a high pitch of perfection. Frederick Krupp, of Essen, Sir Joseph Whitworth, and Lord Armstrong applied it to the fabrication of gigantic rifled cannon, the impact of which the makers of armour plates have set themselves to resist. Bechamp and Perkin evolved brilliant aniline dyes from the refuse of benzole and petroleum. Improvements have been effected in the illuminating properties of gas, and it is largely applied to cooking purposes. Electricity is employed not only for lighting but as a motor, and for the transmission of sound by means of the telephone, the microphone, and the phonograph, with which the names of Bell, Hughes, and Thomas Alva Edison are connected. The spectrum analysis, devised by Bunsen and Kirchhoff, following out the experiments of a long line of investigators from the time of Sir Isaac Newton, has had numerous applications. The supply of fresh meat is rendered practically inexhaustible by means of artificial ice and a system of cold

storage. The cultivation of fruits and vegetables under glass has called a great industry into being and added to human health and enjoyment. New wants are created by the very abundance and variety, and comforts are diffused which were regarded, not many years since, as luxuries procurable only by the wealthy few.

Philanthropists like William Allen, Joseph John Gurney, and Elizabeth Fry devoted life and fortune to the work of social amelioration and reform. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton agitated for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, against supineness and selfishness. Aided by such men as William Knibb, the Baptist missionary in Jamaica, a public sentiment was aroused, after repeated attempts and frequent defeats, that swept away the scandal. Parliament voted £20,000,000 as compensation, although, strictly and morally, the planters had no claim, and on August 1, 1834, a quarter of a million slaves were manumitted. Among other humane and benevolent movements, James Gall of Edinburgh invented a method for teaching the blind to read, and Dr. Joseph Watson gave forty-five years' labour to the instruction of deaf-mutes, at the same time that Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet was working on similar lines in America. Fugitive efforts had been made at intervals on behalf of these afflicted classes of humanity, and recent years have witnessed a growing desire to mitigate their sad lot, with a development of scientific and systematic methods, and greater success in their application. Dr. George Birkbeck founded the London Mechanics' Institute, in 1823, the pioneer of hundreds established during the next few years in all the large towns, in the hope of fostering a love for literature and science. Francis Place furnishes valuable information in his MS. Collections concerning this movement. A like aim was sought by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, established in 1825 by such men as Henry Brougham, Dr. Stephen Lushington, Henry Hallam, James Mill, Charles Knight, and William Howitt. The idea and the object were good, although Hazlitt said that the promoters confounded a knowledge of useful things with useful knowledge itself; as was, perhaps, inevitable. With this body originated, among numerous valuable

publications, the 'Penny Cyclopædia'—which paid £10,500 for Paper Duty—and the 'Penny Magazine'; pioneers of cheap and wholesome literature like the 'People's Magazine,' 'Leigh Hunt's Journal,' 'Hogg's Instructor,' 'Eliza Cook's Journal,' 'Tait's Magazine,' 'Chambers's Journal,' the 'Leisure Hour,' and a host of others. The rapid issue of large numbers of such periodicals was rendered possible by the mechanical invention of Edward Cowper (1790–1852), who may be said to have done for the printing-press what James Watt did for the steam-engine. He was the improver, as William Nicholson was the projector, and as Frederick Kœnig, who came to London from Eisleben, in Saxon Prussia, was the first inventor, of the steam printing-machine. So early as 1816, Cowper obtained a patent for the use of curved stereotype plates fixed on cylinders. Two years later he took out another for the better distribution of ink, and an improved method of conveying the sheets from one cylinder to another. This was the model of most of the perfecting machines, by which both sides of the paper are printed at once. Cowper and his brother-in-law, Augustus Applegarth, jointly invented the four-cylinder machine, in 1827, for 'The Times,' which printed what was then thought the marvellous number of five thousand copies an hour.

The year 1825 witnessed a commencement of the undertaking that developed into the London University. It was designed to be open to persons of all creeds, so as to meet the case of many who were excluded from Oxford and Cambridge by theological tests. Thomas Campbell the poet, Brougham, James Mill, George Grote, Zachary, Macaulay, Thomas Tooke, all of them liberal in politics and zealous in the cause of education, promoted the scheme. Political Economy was a favourite subject of study in England from about 1810 to 1845. Inquiries and speculations were rife as to the causes of prevalent depression in trade and industry. Thomas R. Malthus, David Ricardo, Whately, James Mill, Mrs. Jane Marcet, J. R. MacCulloch, and others, discussed the matter at great length, and propounded their respective theories. Francis Horner (1778–1817) rose to a high position of public influence, by his noble character and by his know-

ledge of fiscal subjects. As chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for investigating the causes of the depreciation of bank-notes, appointed on his motion in 1810, he took a leading part in framing the famous Bullion Report. Chiefly through his efforts, the paper issue of the English banks was checked, and gold and silver were reinstated as circulating media. His views on Free Trade and commerce, as expounded in the House of Commons and in the pages of the 'Edinburgh Review,' have been generally accepted, but there has also been a revulsion from the teachings of Political Economy. Many deride it, with Carlyle, as "the dismal science," and relegate it to the planet Saturn. The excessive depreciation is a natural rebound from the undue exaltation of a former time, when the dicta of certain teachers were supposed to furnish rules from which there was no appeal. A standard of economic orthodoxy was set up, to deviate from which was as culpable as heresy or treason. Unbending formulæ were propounded for every occasion and circumstance, by which all trade and social questions were to be automatically solved. People were repelled by such dogmatism and pedantry, and ignorantly concluded that there were no social laws and no social science. Philosophic Radicals, of whom Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) was the founder and prophet, held that the whole theory of government could be deduced from a few simple axioms of human nature. Certain rules were assumed as being to the interest of every one, which it was supposed would be universally followed. Facts were against the theory; which, moreover, failed to recognise the power of human selfishness, the diversity of human needs, and the various and inscrutable motives that affect human conduct and that influence individual character and destiny. Bentham's favourite doctrine of Utility, the modern phase of which may be said to have begun with Hume, was developed at a later date into the Utilitarianism of John Stuart Mill. It is the revival of an ancient controversy, over which philosophers have disputed, as they will continue to do, in all probability, till the end of Time.

The general review shows that marked political and social improvements were effected within twenty years

from the Battle of Waterloo. For nearly a century prior to that event, it is strictly accurate to say that class and professional interests were mainly studied. The aim of the series of legislative measures beginning with the Reform Bill of 1832 was to secure the greatest happiness of the greatest number, to employ a well-known phrase, commonly but erroneously ascribed to Bentham, who says that it first flashed upon him when reading Priestley's treatise upon civil government, published in 1768. But the phrase occurs, in identical words, in the work 'On Good and Evil,' by Francis Hutcheson (1694–1737), and the principle is thoroughly interwoven with his system. There is a similar expression in the subsequent work by Beccaria, 'On Crimes and Punishments.' As the results of the new policy, extravagant and unchecked public outlay was arrested; a commencement was made of law reform, that had lain in abeyance since the Commonwealth; political power was no longer monopolized by a few thousand persons for their own advantage and that of their families; the grosser civil and religious disabilities were swept away; landowners lost the statutory right to defraud their creditors, through real estate not being liable for debt, and were deprived of the exclusive privilege of killing game; the criminal law was shorn of some of its harsher features; and a more humane, considerate, and equitable method of administration was initiated. A National Gallery was commenced in London in 1824. The establishment of Schools of Design, urged long before by Bishop Berkeley, was first recommended in 1836 by a Select Committee of the House of Commons. Two years later, Hampton Court galleries and gardens were thrown open, having always been kept up at the public expense; and the prohibitory fees for inspecting the Tower of London were reduced. Not until 1845 was free admission allowed to the nave and aisles of Westminster Abbey. For six years longer an elaborate tariff, amounting in all to four shillings and fourpence, for the benefit of the officials, regulated access to St. Paul's. In all the cathedrals, from the highest dignitaries down to the meanest vergers, the idea—not yet wholly extinct—was to exact as much as possible for perfunctory or useless

service, or for the inspection of edifices that belong to the nation. Another humanizing and elevating influence was the formation of popular classes for the study and practice of music, dating from about the year 1840, with which the names of John Hullah, J. J. Waite, and John Curwen are honourably associated. An impulse was also given to the pursuit of the higher branches of instruction in science and art, afterwards formed into a section of the Education Department, with its head-quarters at South Kensington.

A police-force was established in London by Sir Robert Peel in 1829, somewhat on the model of the Royal Irish Constabulary which he had formed fifteen years earlier. By the ready humour of the Irish populace, the names of the originator were attached, in the familiar words of "Bobby," and "Peeler," soon transferred to England, and still heard in the streets. The example of a local and efficient body of police was followed in the chief provincial towns. A county force was authorized in 1839, as a permissive measure, made compulsory in 1856; but the controlling power, as in the case of the boroughs, was centralized in the Home Office, in a way that is regarded by many with grave apprehension, as tending to create a quasi-military force under the authority of a department. With the exception of the police of the City of London, who are under the control of the Corporation, every other force in the counties and boroughs is virtually subject to the Home Secretary, who can prescribe regulations and withhold the Imperial grants-in-aid. At the time of the establishment of the new system, there was need for vigilance in detecting and repressing crime, for it had nearly doubled in twenty years, mainly, doubtless, as the result of the prevalent distress and misery. Decrepit street watchmen, parochial constables, and the Bow-street Runners were unable to cope with the evil. Country gentlemen viewed the proposal with suspicion, until they found that the new rural police could be largely used in the apprehension of poachers and in preserving the coverts. Charles Kingsley (1819–1875) showed, in 'Yeast,' the working of the iniquitous and barbarous game-laws.

Since that time, miscellaneous duties have been

imposed upon the police. They have the regulation of public vehicles in the metropolis and in large cities, including cabs—an abbreviation of "cabriolets"—first introduced in 1823, and omnibuses, in 1829. The vice of drunkenness had long prevailed, as repeated references in former Chapters will have shown. The police were instructed to repress it, and to watch licensed houses, as being the source of many ills. Social reformers, however, are prone to forget that intoxication is often resorted to by the miserable and the despondent as a temporary means of escape into forgetfulness from the dull and intolerable burden of life. Healthy dwellings, improved drainage, a pure water-supply, ample employment, cheap food, parks and recreation-grounds, baths and washhouses, innocent amusements, libraries, and reading-rooms, and the spread of useful knowledge, play an important part in securing better social conditions, and in removing the temptation to drown care in ephemeral oblivion. Happily, a change had taken place among educated people, who came to regard the habit as disgraceful; and the great bulk of the community were influenced by the Temperance crusade conducted by Father Mathew and his earnest colleagues, who relied upon moral suasion and individual conviction.

The subject of the health of towns, with the prevention of zymotic diseases, began to occupy public attention about the year 1840. The name of Edwin Chadwick is honourably associated with the movement. Inquiries were instituted through the new Poor Law Board—the precursor of the Local Government Board—and by a Royal Commission, into matters connected with drainage and the supply of water. Many evils and dangers were brought to light; such as the existence in crowded neighbourhoods of open gutters reeking with putrid matter, as stagnant and offensive as Avernus; cesspools, dunghills, and pig-styes; the absence of proper arrangements for the removal of dust, refuse, and garbage; and the prevalence of intramural interments. The last-named offensive and dangerous practice was not stopped until a fresh outbreak of cholera in 1850 compelled the devising of instant remedies. In 1780, so far as imperfect statistics are available, one in forty of the

population, and probably a larger proportion, died annually. The average for the whole country now is one in forty-eight. Denmark and Switzerland alone have a lower rate of mortality. At the beginning of the century, the deaths exceeded the births in London, its growth depending solely on immigration. This was so large that Cobbett's favourite phrase for the metropolis was the Wen. At the present time, the annual increase by births is 30·9 per thousand, and the loss by deaths is 20·2. The first Metropolis Buildings Act was passed in 1844, and, three years later, the Act for the Improvement of Towns. In 1848, a Board of Health was constituted, with general powers for the formation of Local Boards where Municipal Corporations did not exist; a realization, in part, of Milton's scheme of devolution, as opposed to centralization. All these things were not effected at once, or without resistance; and though much more has been accomplished in the intervening half-century, not a little remains to be done ere the greatest-happiness maxim is transmuted into an abiding reality, by arousing a sense of local and personal responsibility, and by increasing the powers of local control.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT AND THE CORN LAWS.

A.D. 1837–1841.

William IV. died at Windsor, June 20, 1837, in his seventy-third year. If he accomplished no good, he was prevented from doing much harm. As the Salic law prevailed in Hanover, he was succeeded there by his brother, the Duke of Cumberland (1771–1851); the least reputable and the most unpopular member of his family. He had narrowly escaped a prosecution for high treason, as head of an illegal association of Orange lodges in England, one of the objects of which was to set aside the Princess Victoria, daughter of his elder brother, the Duke of Kent. Happily, the plot was

foiled, and she was proclaimed on the morning after the decease of William IV. The coronation cost £70,000, less than one-third of the lavish and wasteful expenditure in the case of George IV. A sum of £385,000, which Joseph Hume and other Reformers tried in vain to reduce, was assigned for the Civil List. The sum, excepting £60,000 for the Queen's Privy Purse, was rigidly allocated among the various departments of the Royal Household. Her Majesty also received for her personal use the net revenue of the Duchy of Lancaster, then amounting to about £10,000, but long since increased five-fold. In like manner, the net revenue accruing to the Prince of Wales from the Duchy of Corwall has risen to £70,000, besides the annual allowance of £36,000 since 1889 to his children.

Thus the ancient and wasteful custom was wholly abolished of voting a huge lump sum annually to the Crown for the discharge of personal and official claims. The archaic form still continues in the House of Commons of granting to the Sovereign in Committee of Supply specific amounts for the different branches of the public service; but this is a mere verbal fiction that deceives no one. When the Queen announced her intention to marry her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, which took place February 10, 1840, a sum of £30,000 was voted for his separate allowance. For a long time he occupied an anomalous and a trying position, and was regarded with insular suspicion and dislike. The pages of 'Punch' indicate the unpopularity with which his German entourage was viewed, as mendicants soliciting British charity. His prudence and high character had almost lived down this feeling at the time of his premature and lamented decease, in December, 1861. Then, with the popular tendency to rush to extremes, a revulsion set in, and the eulogies were as extravagant as previous criticisms. Of the domestic life of the Court, it would be impertinent to say more than that it has set a noble example of home virtues; and stands out in illustrious contrast to some former reigns, while the personal character and influence of the Queen have always been exerted on behalf of Constitutional rule, and of righteousness and mercy.

To the word Chartism, the utmost opprobrium attached at one time. The name was derived from what was called the People's Charter, with its Six Points :— Manhood Suffrage, Equal Electoral Districts, Vote by Ballot, Annual Parliaments, Abolition of the Property Qualification, and Payment of Members. There was nothing startling or revolutionary in these demands. So far back as 1780, the Duke of Richmond introduced a Bill to grant universal suffrage and annual Parliaments. In the same year, Fox declared himself in favour of the identical Six Points. The Society of Friends of the People, formed in 1791 by Erskine, Mackintosh, Grey, and others, aimed at a wide extension of the franchise. Bentham first advocated, in 1817, vote by ballot on the American plan ; a revival of the ancient Greek and Roman methods. George Grote, the banker-historian, brought forward year by year from 1833 in the House of Commons a similar proposal, only to be defeated. It had been submitted three years before by O'Connell ; and it found a place in the original draft of the Reform Bill. Nearly all the objects of the Chartists have long since been attained, with much more than they hoped for or dreamed of. Their agitation, formally begun in 1838, was a protest against what they regarded as political and social injustice. In a vague, dumb fashion, it was thought that existing poverty and suffering would be mitigated, if not wholly removed, by legislation. The notion that Acts of Parliament furnish a panacea for all social ills is not confined to one age or country, or to the crude and the uninformed.

In one of the many addresses issued by the Chartists, they pleaded : —" Let our rulers ask themselves, when they see our prisons filled with victims, our land covered with paupers, and our streets infested with intemperance and prostitution, how much these terrible evils are occasioned by ignorance ; the consequence of their own neglect ? How many millions of public wealth, arrogantly given and ungraciously received, might have been better appropriated in diffusing the blessings of education ?" In vain were such pathetic appeals addressed to the dominant class, whether Whig or Tory. The customary method of reply is found in a speech by Lord

John Russell, delivered in the House in 1839:—"We have, particularly in the manufacturing districts, very large masses of people who have grown up in a state of society which it is lamentable, if not appalling, to contemplate. . . . It is, in many instances, a society necessarily composed of the working classes, with certain persons who employ them, with whom they have little connection, regard, or subordination; and, unhappily, neither receiving in schools nor in places of worship that religious and moral instruction that is necessary for knitting together the interests and classes of a great country." That such an utterance should have been made by a responsible Minister is startling and terrible; the more so because he did not perceive the indictment thus brought against the clergy, the Government, and the Legislature, all of whom had allowed, and even fostered, such a condition of things by criminal neglect of elementary education, of moral teaching, and of just and equal administration.

All that was attempted, even then, was a rigid enforcement of the law, aided by the new police, in the hope of silencing complaints. The Whigs were satisfied, in common with the middle classes, having obtained their desire; and they regarded with disfavour any projects for further extensions of political influence. "Finality John" was a name given in ridicule to Lord Russell, for a foolish speech in which he deprecated any more changes in the franchise, and advised the people to "rest and be thankful," adapting the title of one of Wordsworth's Sonnets. The official hierarchy of the Whigs treated the Chartist movement with contempt, until it threatened to become troublesome. Then they tried to stamp it out. The agitation was complicated with scarcity of work and dearness of food, arising from a long period of commercial depression and a series of bad harvests, following upon the terrible waste and exhaustion of the great French War, and the permanent fiscal burdens thereby imposed. The toiling multitudes, half-starved in miserable attics and cellars, addressed piteous petitions to the Queen and the Legislature, which the former probably never saw or heard of, and which the latter treated with contempt. Meetings of thousands of

people were held all over the country. In the lack of judicious guidance, an extreme party arose, under fluent, self-appointed, self-seeking leaders, who appealed to ignorance and passion, urging that, as moral means had failed to secure the desired objects, resort must be had to physical force. They inflicted irreparable injury upon the cause which they professed to champion, for it was judged and condemned by the measure of their blatant folly; as were men like the benevolent Joseph Sturge of Birmingham, Samuel Bamford, James Woodford, and many others, who were opposed to violence, but were alike upright and patriotic. To their labours and sufferings modern English liberties owe much.

Some prominent Chartists, like Henry Vincent, William Lovett, John Collins, Ernest Jones, and Thomas Cooper—all of them sincere, well-meaning, and estimable men, if mistaken in some of their views and methods—were prosecuted in 1838; but this only fanned the excitement. Cooper was the author of two novels, 'Alderman Ralph,' and 'The Family Feud,' which had considerable success; and, more notably, of a marvellous poem, 'The Purgatory of Suicides,' written during his imprisonment in Stafford gaol. One man, Bartlett, was incarcerated in Ilchester for nine months for saying at Newport, "It is a fact in history that all successful revolutions are lawful; but the unsuccessful are criminal"; a truism then held to be seditious. Their treatment in prison was infamous, as if they had been felons, instead of political prisoners, and it brands the Whig Government with indelible disgrace. It is detailed by Cooper and by George Jacob Holyoake, in their respective 'Reminiscences'; and more fully in Benjamin Wilson's 'Struggles of an Old Chartist,' and in the pathetic 'Life and Struggles of William Lovett in Pursuit of Bread, Knowledge, and Freedom.' Ernest Jones, a barrister and a poet, who had sacrificed his all in what he believed to be a righteous cause, was kept in solitary confinement for nineteen months, on the silent system—a cruel device that must not be confused with the modern separate system—and often on bread and water, because he would not submit to menial offices or to the degrading task of picking oakum. His constitution was broken and his

life was shortened by the inhuman treatment. There were many such victims of political animosity in English prisons, provoking much excitement and irritation, and leading to lamentable excesses. Outbreaks occurred at Newport, Monmouthshire, and in the Midland and Northern districts, followed by more arrests and convictions. Huge petitions were again transmitted to Parliament, praying for the reforms named in the Charter, which the existing Legislature was not prepared to grant.

The Revolution in France, in February, 1848, drove the boasted Citizen-King, Louis Philippe (1773–1850) from his throne and from the country, and set up a temporary Republic. The reigning Orleans dynasty fell after a short life, with a suddenness which aroused wonder, and with an ignominy that forbade pity. The Revolution was felt over Europe, like the shock of an earthquake. Charles Louis of Bavaria abdicated. The King of Hanover, and other petty sovereigns, had to make concessions. There were more or less successful revolutions in Vienna, Berlin, Venice, Prague, Cracow, and elsewhere, followed by a reaction as soon as military despots could collect their forces. Atrocious cruelties were perpetrated by the Austrians in the attempt to put down the assertion of Italian Independence. The scandalous misgovernment of Bomba—a contemptuous nickname for Ferdinand II., from his habit of blowing out his cheeks—in Naples, where thousands of political prisoners, including many persons of rank and character, were immured for months in horrible dungeons, was exposed in 1851 by Mr. Gladstone, in his famous letters to the Earl of Aberdeen; which were translated into every European language, and widely circulated. All these things, with the heroic struggles for freedom carried on for years by the patriot party in Poland and in Hungary, against the crushing tyranny of Russia and Austria, caused great excitement in England. London, in particular, was panic-stricken. The shopkeepers saw horrid visions of plunder. It was said that the extreme Chartists contemplated a forcible rising. They arranged to meet on Kennington Common, and to march to Westminster with a petition alleged to contain five million signatures. The number was exaggerated

threefold, and many of the names were fictitious or forged. A military force was concentrated, and special constables, including the exiled fugitive, Louis Napoleon, were sworn in. On the appointed day, April 10, 1848, the procession was not allowed to cross Westminster Bridge, only a small delegation being permitted to accompany the petition. The dreaded outbreak ended in smoke, and the whole Chartist movement was covered with undeserved ridicule through the folly and wilfulness of a section who held Communist ideas. The bulk of the Chartists did not favour such wild theories, and were not prepared to merge individual property and rights in those of an abstract State. Their movement, however, was virtually slain by internal dissensions, and by the absurdity of frothy declaimers who assumed the conduct of affairs for their own ends.

There was, undoubtedly, a strong feeling among the intelligent and industrious artisan population that they were deprived of political rights. The question of electoral reform was not allowed to slumber. Private members introduced Bills which the House of Commons refused to pass. Lord Palmerston, who hated Reform, and was essentially a Tory, staved off the inconvenient subject during his long tenure of office. Lord John Russell made several half-hearted attempts in 1854, in 1859, and in 1860. Disraeli submitted a proposal on the part of the Derby Cabinet in 1859, which was rejected. When again in office, in 1867, he brought forward another Bill, which was altered and enlarged by the Liberal Opposition, and carried. The Marquis of Salisbury, then Lord Cranborne, passionately disclaimed all responsibility for the measure, and seceded from the Cabinet, saying that Gladstone was the real author and sponsor. The Earl of Derby, the head of the Government, described the Bill as "a great experiment," and as "a leap in the dark"; while John Bright ridiculed what he termed its fancy franchises and three-cornered constituencies. It virtually created household suffrage, including lodgers, in boroughs, but not in counties, and increased the electorate from less than one million to nearly three. Repeated attempts were made, chiefly by the annual motion of Sir G. C. Trevelyan, to apply the

same principal to counties, but this was not done until the Act of 1884, which added more than two millions to the electoral roll, by assimilating the franchise in rural districts. Part of this addition, however, was due to judge-made law, through the interpretation put upon the Act, in a case of appeal, which called into existence a numerous class of voters, known as "inhabitant occupiers," as distinct from householders or lodgers. Conjoined with the Franchise Bill was the application on a much larger scale of the principle of the redistribution of seats, as first introduced in 1867. By an arrangement between the two political parties, most of the large borough and county constituencies were divided into seats for single members. The Disraeli scheme of 1867 also provided that Parliament should not be dissolved on any future demise of the Crown, and that members holding offices of profit need not vacate their seats on accepting another post. But nothing was devised to enable a member to resign. He must still resort to the clumsy and fictitious method of applying for the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, a Crown estate in Bucks. Acceptance of this titular office is held to disqualify for a retention of a seat in the House.

A chief cause of the political and social disquietude in the Chartist days was the operation of the Corn Laws, by which the prices of staple food were greatly enhanced. This artificial and prohibitory system, after many experiments, ending in dismal failure and awful suffering, was supposed to have been brought to a state of perfection in 1828, by means of a sliding-scale duty upon imported corn, working automatically according to the market price. The scheme was represented, with a plausibility that covered gross selfishness, as being calculated to promote the best interests of the country, by encouraging native growth, by keeping land in cultivation, by avoiding the necessity for foreign supplies of food, and by assisting landowners and farmers to patronize home manufactures and trade. It was urged that the abolition of Protection would ruin agriculturists and shopkeepers, throw numbers of workpeople out of employment, and lead to the withdrawal of capital. The real object was to maintain the high rents and

prices of the recent war-times; while hundreds of farms were unlet, and many thousands were starving for lack of work. Ignorance, prejudice, and timidity united with greed in upholding the Corn Laws, although their injustice had been exposed by three generations of able writers since the days of Adam Smith, and although their obvious effect was to enhance prices to the many for the advantage of the few, inasmuch as taxes fall ultimately and invariably on the consumer. Moreover, speculation and gambling were fostered by the Act of 1828, which fixed the import duty at 24s. 8d., when wheat was 62s. a quarter, with a diminishing or an ascending scale. Insufficient crops and high prices, especially after the year 1835, caused much poverty and misery. Thousands of tenant farmers were bankrupt. In the Vale of Aylesbury the poor-rates were 30s. an acre. In parts of Suffolk they were more than the rental. Four years later, wheat was 81s. 6d.

The pressure was greatest on the labourer and the mechanic, and on all persons of small fixed incomes and of limited means. The newspapers of the day relate in harrowing detail the prevalent distress. Men, made wolfish through hunger, and half-frantic women with starving babes, demanded food. Closed mills, empty houses, crowds out of work, stagnant trade, ruined shopkeepers, a vast increase of pauperism, to the extent, in some districts, of a third of the population, bankrupt benefit clubs, wages in Dorset as low as 6s. a week, whole families passing several days without food, other than garbage and refuse,—such were the piteous items, multiplied a thousand-fold. Carlyle's 'Chartism,' and his 'Past and Present,' with Disraeli's early political novels, and works like Charles Kingsley's 'Yeast' and 'Alton Locke,' even after making allowance for their rhetorical setting, present a dark picture of the social and industrial state of England at the time. In the crowded city of Manchester one-tenth of the people lived in squalor in cellars. It was worse in Liverpool, where one seventh burrowed underground. Glasgow was still worse. In Carlisle, a fourth of the inhabitants were starving. In all large towns, the living poor herded as closely in fever-stricken courts as the dead in the con-

tiguous and choked-up graveyards; nor were many country villages much better, owing to lack of work, low wages, insufficient food, scanty and defective cottages, an inadequate and fitful water-supply, and the neglect of sanitation. It was officially stated in 1841 that 800,000 persons dependent on hand-loom weaving had to subsist on twopence halfpenny a day. Three thousand houses in Stockport were empty. At Leeds, the pauper stone-heap was 150,000 tons; and as it could not be disposed of, the Guardians had to pay the paupers for doing nothing. Typhus and cholera raged everywhere intermittently, and swept away numbers of miserable victims. It is not surprising, therefore, that the social wretchedness aroused discontent, and led to clamorous demands for further political reform.

An agitation was commenced in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, and other large towns, in order to force the question of a repeal of the Corn Laws upon the notice of a reluctant and sceptical Legislature, where a selfish landed interest largely preponderated. Manufacturers naturally wished to sell their goods wherever buyers existed, but found themselves hampered at every turn by prohibitive legislation. Charles Pelham Villiers, M.P. for Wolverhampton, introduced in 1838 the first of a series of motions for inquiry. The Melbourne Cabinet successfully opposed him; the Premier declaring that a repeal of the Corn Laws was "one of the wildest and maddest schemes that ever entered the imagination of man." The prompt answer to this Whig *non possumus* was the formation at Manchester, September 18, 1838, of the Anti-Corn-Law League, the most powerful and effective popular organization ever seen. The history of its Seven Years' War against Protection is copiously narrated by Prentice. There had been one or two tentative and local efforts, but this was general and permanent until the end was achieved. It emulated the famous Hanseatic League which, three centuries before, had freed the trade of the Hanse Towns from the arbitrary imposts of German princes. Ample pecuniary means were forthcoming year by year, £250,000 being guaranteed in one instance, if required. An active propagandism was carried on all over the country by means

of lectures, speeches, discussions, conferences, newspapers, tracts, pamphlets, books, and songs. Chief among the workers were Richard Cobden (1804–1865), John Bright (1811–1889), General Perronet Thompson, Milner Gibson, William Johnson Fox, George Wilson, and Ebenezer Elliot, the Corn-Law Rhymer, whose stirring colloquial songs accomplished for this movement what J. G. Whittier and J. R. Lowell did for the downfall of slavery in America.

Monopolies always die hard. Much interested resistance, misrepresentation, and abuse had to be encountered. But information was diffused; arguments were pressed home; earnest appeals were made; and a healthy public opinion was created in behalf of Free Trade. The Whigs, who had first opposed, and then hesitated, so far yielded to the inevitable as to submit, in May, 1841, a scheme for a fixed duty of 8s. a quarter on corn. They were defeated on their Budget. Sir James Graham declared in Parliament that a fixed duty would be the destruction, not of one particular class alone, but of the State itself; and he favoured a continued sliding-scale. A direct vote of want of confidence was then carried by a majority of one, whereupon an appeal was made to the country. The response was a Conservative majority of 70, including the adherents of the old Tory party, from which, however, it somewhat differed, by modifications. Peel became Prime Minister, with a mandate from the constituencies, especially from the agricultural interest, to maintain Protection. The Whigs were discredited, because of their trimming, their greed in office, the utter failure of their financial policy, and the scandalous manner in which they had provided for family and political connections, while always claiming to be more righteous than the Tories. Their course was run, and they were not allowed to save themselves even by a death-bed repentance. They left the Exchequer deficient by more than ten millions. The naval and military expenditure had risen during their six years' tenure of office from eleven millions and three-quarters to fifteen and a half. Ireland was in a ferment. Meddling interference in Egypt had risked a collision with France. One of the miserable and iniquitous Opium

Wars had been forced upon China; and the policy in Afghanistan, with the feeling aroused by the treatment of native women, entailed loss and disgrace.

The expedition to Kabul, in 1838, the horrors of the humiliating retreat through the Khaiber Pass, and the two Sikh Wars, can never be forgotten. British valour and endurance bore the strain, and ultimately triumphed over all difficulties and reverses. The names of such men as Eldred Pottinger, Sir Alexander Burnes, Sir Robert Sale, Lord Gough, and Sir Charles Napier are immortalized in Indian annals. But there is no excuse for the ambition, the foolhardiness, and the imbecility that marked the whole course of procedure of the controlling body in England and of the administrators in Calcutta. Forty years later, in 1878, the desire of Lord Beaconsfield to settle a scientific frontier for India led to a repetition of the attempt upon Kabul. Happily, the results were far less disastrous; but Kandahar had to be evacuated, and the forces withdrawn along the same Khaiber Pass. Lord Lawrence, then the greatest living authority, severely condemned the project, and his opinion was shared by leading statesmen acquainted with Indian affairs. The aggressive policy of Lord Auckland, Governor-General from 1835 to 1842, was in pursuance of the course taken by some of his predecessors, and was persisted in by those who followed, until the Marquis of Dalhousie, between 1848 and 1856, "consummated a policy, and closed a period." When Cornwallis reached India, in 1786, the East India Company, whose original purpose, long followed, was trading, rather than territorial rule, possessed only a large tract of land in Bengal, a smaller one around Madras, the town of Bombay and the adjacent island of Salsette, and the Circars on the Coromandel coast; with a loose hold upon districts in Central and Southern India, ruled by the Marhattá princes, by the Nizam at Haiderabad, and by Tipu Sultan at Mysore. When the Marquis of Hastings retired in 1823, after ten years' rule, he left a territory twice as large. The vast district of Sind was annexed in 1843, under Ellenborough; the Cis-Sutlej States and others under Viscount Hardinge, in 1846; and then the Punjab, Pegu, Nagpur, and Oudh by Dalhousie, who

ranks with the greatest of British Proconsuls. Whatever opinion may be formed of his schemes of conquest, they were attended and followed by wise consolidation and development; especially in the construction of roads, canals, railways, and telegraphs, in the increase of reservoirs, and of irrigation and other works of public utility, in the improvement of the postal system, and in the initiation of a great scheme of education.

The establishment of cheap and expeditious inland postage, was another beneficent act initiated by the Melbourne Cabinet that had far-reaching commercial and social consequences. Hitherto, the charges for the conveyance of letters were prohibitory, except to the affluent. A day's wages of a labourer were absorbed in sending a letter from London to Scotland. There was only one despatch daily to the provinces, and the service was slow and irregular. Rowland Hill, after contending for years with active opposition and passive resistance on the part of officials, was able, in 1840, by the express direction of the Treasury, to carry out a scheme of uniform inland penny postage, and to perfect plans suggested by earlier reformers. The great advantages of cheap postage, and the recent extension of the telegraphic system, have involved, however, the loss of the art of letter-writing, as embodied in the old quarto sheet, closely filled, with the exception of the small space needed for the superscription. The convenience of envelopes dates only from 1840; and though steel pens were in partial use twenty years earlier, the price was excessive. Even so late as 1832, they were 6*s.* a gross, and the quality was inferior to those now supplied at sixpence.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

IRISH FAMINE AND EMIGRATION.

A.D. 1841–1846.

In the new Parliament of 1841, Bright, Cobden, and other prominent members of the Anti-Corn-Law League found places, and their influence at once made itself felt. Among the members of the Peel Ministry were two

young men whose character and ability marked them out for high positions; William Ewart Gladstone, Vice-President of the Board of Trade, described by Macaulay, in his famous review of the 'Essay on Church and State,' as "the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories"; and Sidney Herbert (1810–1861), Secretary to the Admiralty, and afterwards Lord Herbert of Lea. At first, Peel made no sign of his intentions; only resisting every proposal for an inquiry into the Corn Laws. In February, 1842, he carried a measure imposing a tax of sevenpence on all incomes above £150, to meet the chronic deficiency in the revenue, reviving the scheme which had been repealed in 1816. It was to remain in force during three years, and was then extended, and has never been abandoned. The tax was estimated to yield £3,750,000. A single penny in the pound now produces more than two millions. He also relieved trade and commerce by repealing the export duties on British manufactures, and by abolishing or reducing the tariff on 750 articles; a scheme that was afterwards amplified and completed by his pupil and friend, Gladstone. Hitherto, four-fifths of the national income were derived from Customs and Excise, and these indirect taxes were burdensome and unfair. Peel then submitted a scheme of a revised sliding-scale, on the basis that the duty should never exceed 20s. while wheat sold at or under 50s., and when the price reached 69s. the duty was to sink to five. The measure, though an improvement on the existing plan, was opposed by the League, on principle; but it became law. Villiers' annual motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws was always lost, but by lessening majorities.

The distress in the country fluctuated, but there was still much suffering; while a million and a half of quarters of foreign corn were lying in bond, awaiting the enhanced prices which speculators hoped to make out of the necessity and distress of the people. Relief funds were opened, and special measures taken to lighten the strain upon the Poor Law. Peel made guarded utterances; but it was evident that he had an open mind upon the subject. Carlyle, in 'Past and Present,' issued in 1843, denounced him as Sir Jabesh Windbag;

emptying on him and on his sliding-scale the vials of contempt and indignation. The Budget of 1842 propounded a masterly scheme for reconstructing the national finances. The logical result was an end of the Corn Laws; for it surrendered the whole principle of protective duties, which were acknowledged by him in subsequent speeches to rest upon exceptional grounds of assumed expediency. Moreover, the conviction was being brought home, slowly but surely, that the country was paying at least twelve millions a year for a bread-tax, and one-third of that sum as a tax on sugar. The Whigs gradually lowered their suggestion as to a fixed duty, in the eager desire to compete with their opponents. Various shiftings of the political kaleidoscope occurred between 1842 and 1845. Every one felt that changes were impending, but none could forecast the mode or the time, when, suddenly, another factor was introduced that compelled prompt and decisive action.

The potato was the chief food in Ireland, as rice is now in India. The prolific growth was suited to the soil, and seemed to meet, while it really aggravated, the miserable condition of the peasantry. Buckle's ingenious theory need not be refuted. A tuber disease had appeared in England in 1835, and had been known for some years in America. It now broke out in Ireland, and waged with such virulence during the Winter of 1845, and for several successive seasons, that in many districts the crop wholly perished. Multitudes died of famine, notwithstanding the efforts of the Government by means of grants and of relief works, with the help of private beneficence by humane persons in England and America. There had been previous famines, with something like periodicity, but this was by far the worst. The commemoration in 1887 of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign was marred by the painful remembrance that during the fifty years 1,250,000 of people had died in Ireland of famine, or of the fever induced by it; that 3,500,000 had been evicted from their homes and little holdings, and that more than 4,000,000 had emigrated. That dispersion, as John Morley remarks, planted in every quarter of the globe irreconcilable enemies to English rule. Absentee land-

lords drew at the time from four to six millions annually, according to different estimates; or from one-third to one-half of the whole rent of the country. Lord John Russell said, in 1846,—"We have made Ireland — I speak it deliberately—the most degraded and miserable country in the world." This state of things continued for another generation, and was not remedied by measures like the Encumbered Estates Court, devised by amateur legislators who were puzzled and distracted by agricultural distress, by commercial ruin, and by threatened social anarchy.

A Royal Commission, presided over by the Earl of Devon, was appointed November 20, 1843, to inquire into the state of the law and the practice in respect to the occupation of land in Ireland. Its Report, with copious minutes of evidence, taken in forty-seven places from nearly a thousand witnesses, was issued in four large folio volumes in 1845, and contained a number of practical recommendations that appeared ideal, heroic, and impossible to the statesmanship of that day. Not until Gladstone's Irish Landlord and Tenant Act of 1870 was any comprehensive plan devised to grapple with the evils resulting from dual ownership, from excessive rents, from arbitrary conditions, from the uncertainty of tenure, and from the lack of compensation for permanent or unexhausted improvements. This was the first of a series of proposals made during the next twenty years with a view to deal with the vexed and difficult question. Another Royal Commission, to inquire into the working of the Act, was appointed in July, 1880, and presided over by the Earl of Bessborough. It reported in the following year, and made sundry suggestions, which were carried out, for extending, cheapening, and simplifying the provisions of the Act. If all has not been accomplished that sanguine persons expected, it must be borne in mind that the evils were widespread and of long duration, and that Statutory remedies alone are ineffectual in such matters.

The distress was not confined to Ireland. It prevailed to a considerable extent in England; but the state of affairs in the sister-country precipitated a repeal of the

Corn Laws. The poor did not live: they barely existed. Yet landowners and farmers would not concede that Protection had anything to do with this melancholy state of things. Some thousands of them, belonging to the Royal Agricultural Society, concurred in a manifesto put forth in the columns of 'The Times,' October 24, 1845, in which starving labourers were exhorted to have a week's wages in hand, and to deny themselves the commonest necessaries until that halcyon condition was reached. They were told that three or four pounds of potatoes were as nourishing as a pound of wheaten bread, besides imparting the sensation of greater fulness. They were advised to buy a pound of bones for twopence, and to boil them three times, so as to extract all the nutriment. Similar advice led to the hanging of Foulon, at the time of the French Revolution, having around his neck a garland of nettles, thistles, and grass, which he once said the people might eat. The Duke of Norfolk, presiding at an agricultural dinner at Steyning, Sussex, December 8, 1845, suggested to the starving labourers that they might allay their hunger with a pinch of curry-powder in hot water:—"I don't mean to say it will make a good soup; but this I say, if a man comes home and has nothing better, it will make him warm and go to bed comfortable." The ducal advice was repeated at another dinner at Arundel the following night, and was reported verbatim, with its grammatical blunders, in 'The Times.' That paper suddenly discovered that the League was a great fact; and on the fourth of December it launched a thunderbolt on the country by announcing Peel's intention to propose the abolition of the Corn Laws.

There had been dissensions in the Cabinet, and some withdrawals. Peel retired from office for a few days, but resumed it because the Whigs could not form a Ministry, having no settled policy on the main question. They were awaiting the turn of events. It was an open secret that Peel felt himself impelled, as the only way of escape from the distress and ruin impending over the country, to undertake a task and to adopt a course which he foresaw must result in alienating many of his old friends and political associates. He records in his

'Memoirs,' and his public speeches prove, that for some time his opinions had been changing under the force of circumstances, and as a result of the arguments of Free Traders. He had acted in a similar way on Catholic Emancipation, on the Currency, and on the amelioration of the Criminal Code. Opportunism and expediency are common considerations with politicians; as in the case of Burke. This is not mentioned to Peel's dishonour. He was not a constructive statesman, but he had the shrewdness to perceive when a subject was ripe for legislative treatment, and how to ensure the support of average men, who always form the majority. In a noble speech of four hours' duration, January 27, 1846, he avowed the impossibility of longer maintaining the Corn Laws, and proposed to lower the duties at once, and to end them in three years. He was instantly and furiously denounced as a traitor by those with whom he had been in close political union all his life; though men of ordinary discernment must have perceived whither he had been tending, and that the stress of events rendered the step inevitable. John Wilson Croker solemnly warned him that he was breaking up the old interests, and forcing on exactly such a catastrophe as did the Noailles and the Montmorencies in France, in 1789.

Disraeli, in particular, attacked Peel with a ferocity and a malignity unparalleled since the days of Walpole. It is shocking to read in the 'Parliamentary Debates' the vituperation, the calumnies, the insults, and the gross personal epithets hurled at him night after night by Disraeli, whose conduct is aggravated by the fact which afterwards came to light, that Peel, who was too high-minded to reveal it, had in his possession at the time a written request from his adversary for an office. Disraeli's whole career, though marking him out as a strategist of consummate genius, and a controversial gladiator of unrivalled skill and unscrupulousness, both in attack and in defence, was that of a political adventurer; from the time when he posed as an ultra-Radical candidate for Wycombe, in 1832, speedily followed by his recantation four years later in the diatribes known as the 'Runnymede Letters,' in 'The Times,' down to

his death in 1881 in the odour of Tory sanctity. He was always regarded as the necessary, but feared and mistrusted leader of the party, which he boasted of having educated up to the abandonment of its principles for the sake of office. What he falsely charged upon Peel, was done repeatedly by himself, in an aggravated form. The action of the Tories in detaching themselves from Peel, placed them in antagonism to the people and to the spirit of the time, and was a main cause of their exclusion from office for nearly a generation.

The Government proposal was carried June 25, 1846, after many nights of heated and acrimonious debate. The League instantly dissolved its formidable organization. The Tory thirst for revenge upon Peel was not long delayed. Under the titular leadership of Lord George Bentinck, who suddenly abjured the race-course and the betting-ring for the purpose, but under the actual inspiration of Disraeli, they joined forces with the Whigs and with Daniel O'Connell's followers, and defeated the great Minister on the second reading of a Bill for the better protection of life in Ireland. Not that they objected to the measure; for they supported it at the outset, and they adopted it subsequently; but they were determined to hound him from office, for an opposite reason to that which decreed the exile of Coriolanus from Rome. He foresaw the result, and did not shrink from his course. In his closing speech, one of the most magnanimous, as well as one of the most powerful and effective, ever heard within the walls of Parliament, he bore testimony to the disinterestedness, the energy, and the simple yet unadorned eloquence of Richard Cobden, and declared that his name would ever be associated with the success of the measure. In the same speech he uttered the pathetic words about his own name being remembered with goodwill in lowly homes when the inmates recruited their strength "with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because no longer leavened by a sense of injustice." Posterity has done honour to his memory, and to his patriotic endeavours "to scatter plenty o'er a smiling land." His career was suddenly terminated, July 2, 1850, by a fall from his horse. The tragical circumstance aroused deep emotion throughout the country. His cold bearing and

his errors of judgment were forgotten in the recollection of his noble qualities and of all that he had done for the public good.

After being in force for nearly two hundred years, the Navigation Laws were repealed in 1849, so that the restrictions on foreign trade were at length removed. The customary dismal forecasts of commercial ruin were speedily falsified by the impetus given to British shipping. The latest return shows a total of 8,044,754 tons, in which the chief part of the ocean carrying-trade is performed. Peel had prepared the way for this, though it was effected after his retirement. Another great fiscal measure associated with his name was the Bank Act of 1844. It renewed, but revised, the conditions under which the Bank of England had existed for nearly a century and a half. Its business was now separated into two departments, for the issue of notes and for ordinary banking transactions; the former being regulated by the amount of public securities held, and by the bullion in stock. Diversities of opinion exist among financial authorities as to how far the rules laid down have averted monetary crises, or have induced or aggravated such as occurred in 1847, in 1857, and in 1866. To the same period belong the various joint-stock banks and other commercial enterprises which have developed into such gigantic proportions. The principle of limited liability in commercial undertakings, first introduced in 1857 from France by Robert Lowe, then at the head of the Board of Trade, has not been productive of unmitigated benefit. It is too much to expect that, in the mad haste for riches, credulous persons will cease to believe in plausible representations that seem to open up a royal road to wealth.

On the downfall of the Peel Ministry, one was formed by Lord John Russell, on the usual basis of a snug family party of Whigs; but with a minority in the House of Commons. Ireland continued to be a source of profound anxiety, owing to the manner in which many landlords acted; exercising their legal rights with a hand of iron, and dealing their moral duties with a brow of brass. The difficulties were aggravated by an agitation for a Repeal of the Act of Union, under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell, and by the rise of the Young Ireland

party against him, headed by Smith O'Brien, Gavan Duffy, Thomas Meaghier, and John Mitchel. There was the usual wearisome round of coercive legislation, armed resistance, incendiarism, outrages, State prosecutions, and semi-martial law. New offences were created, such as treason-felony; an elastic phrase dear to lawyers. Hundreds of thousands continued to emigrate to America, where the census of 1890 revealed the startling fact that there are in the States more than ten millions of persons of Irish lineage, who exert a controlling influence in many elections. The population of Ireland, which was nearly eight millions and a quarter in 1841, was reduced in fifty years to less than four and three quarters; instead of increasing to about twelve in the natural order of things. For nearly eighty years after the Union the country was treated exceptionally, as an alien province or a subject dependency. Its just claims and its reasonable wishes being disregarded, it is not surprising that recourse was had to other and objectionable means of compelling attention, such as the Fenian Brotherhood and dynamite outrages. To concede the demand for repeal is impossible, considering the geographical, commercial, and social relations of the two countries, but no excuse can be found for English statesman, whether Whigs or Tories, who persistently refused to investigate the causes of disaffection; to redress wrong and injustice; to heed the wail of the oppressed; to settle the vexed question of tenant-right; and to put an end to the scandalous anomaly of an alien Church.

Instead of this, Irish representatives were often bought and silenced with lucrative offices, and Irish questions were contumeliously thrust aside. As part of the same system, the sop of £20,000 a year was thrown to Maynooth College in 1845, being an increase of the annual grant of £9,000 made since 1795, when the Penal Laws were relaxed by the Irish Parliament; with £30,000 towards the erection of new buildings. The design was to silence just complaints against the Anglican hierarchy. It evoked a storm of Protestant fanaticism and of prejudice and hatred that cannot now be thought of without a blush of shame. If the opposition had arisen from the principle that all grants of public money to religious

purposes, whatever the creed or the polity, are unjust and indefensible, there would have been logical consistency. Episcopalians were joined by not a few Nonconformists, who, to the discredit of their intelligence, were frightened by the cry of "No Popery!" An Anti-Maynooth Conference was held in London, and meetings were held throughout the provinces, attended by large numbers of excited and terrified old ladies of both sexes, who eagerly responded to the customary denunciations of Rome, and passed strongly-worded resolutions. Clerical dignitaries did not scruple to attribute the Irish famine to the anger of Heaven, aroused by the grant to Maynooth; just as the death of George IV., in 1830, and the burning of the Houses of Parliament four years later, were ascribed to the Divine displeasure at Catholic Emancipation, by a turgid rhetorician named Croly, rector of one of the many lucrative but empty churches in the City of London. Even Gladstone left Peel's Cabinet, not because he disapproved on political grounds of the Maynooth Grant, but because it was incompatible with the views set forth in 1838 in his juvenile and immature 'Essay on the Relations of the Church with the State.' He rejoined the Ministry after a few months, when the crucial question of the Corn Laws awaited decision. A scheme of University education was also launched, by founding Queen's Colleges in Belfast, Cork, and Galway, affiliated to a central University in Dublin, for the use of all denominations; but the results fell far short of the wishes of the projectors, if they did not end in utter failure, owing to the resistance of the Roman Catholic bishops.

The tide of emigration to which reference has been made was not restricted to Ireland. Many thousands were driven from Sutherlandshire and other parts of Scotland by renewed attempts of powerful landowners to devote vast tracts of country to deer-forests or to sheep-pasture. The expatriated families had to seek homes in Canada or in Australia, whither thousands of English people also went. The interior of that vast continent had been heroically explored since 1813 by Matthew Flinders Wentworth, Lawson, Blaxland, Evans, Oxley, Sir Thomas L. Mitchell, Edward John Eyre, Richard

Lander, and others. Later explorers include Edmund B. Kennedy, Allan Cunningham, McDouall Sturt, Robert O'Hara Burke, William John Wills, John M'Kinlay, and William Landsborough. A thin and scattered fringe of settlements had been formed around the coast; imaginary and arbitrary lines dividing what are now known as the separate colonies of Australia, all of which were then called New South Wales. This was the generic name given in 1778 by Captain James Cook to the whole of the Eastern part of the continent. Ten years later, Sydney was founded. Out of the whole were established South Australia, in 1834; Victoria—formerly Port Phillip—in 1851; and Queensland in 1859. Western Australia, or Swan River Settlement, first discovered by Vlamingi in 1697, became an English colony in 1829. Van Diemen's Land, or Tasmania, divided from the general group by Bass's Straits, was visited by Abel Jansen Tasman, a Dutch navigator, in 1642. It was settled by Englishmen in 1825, and New Zealand in 1841. The island of Fiji was annexed in 1874.

The early custom was to make land grants on an extensive and a reckless scale, but on loose conditions. Then a system, partly philanthropic and religious, but chiefly commercial and speculative, was devised by plausible and fluent persons who, unfortunately, secured the ear of the Colonial Office in London. Instead of the vast tracts of territory being held as the rightful heritage of future generations, they were exploited by a selfish few for their own benefit. South Sea islanders were entrapped, and then treated as slaves on the sheep-runs, or on board whaling-vessels, by men like Benjamin Bond and his brother Archibald, who, having posed as capitalists in Sydney on money borrowed in England, perished miserably when the financial crash occurred. One of them was killed and eaten. The other ended his days in poverty in a garret in Bloomsbury, London. The policy of confiscation and squandering was pursued for years, in defiance of protests and warnings from such sagacious and upright men as Sir George Grey, Bishop Selwyn, and Chief Justice Sir William Martin. Land and labour troubles that have since arisen in most of the

Australian Colonies are mainly traceable to this unwise and unjust policy. Robert Lowe, afterwards Viscount Sherbrooke, strenuously protested against it, as he did against the transportation of convicts, during his residence in Sydney from 1842 to 1849, and he strove in vain to ensure an efficient common-school system. The land monopoly was permitted, and the right of veto on legislation against duties on English goods was abandoned, through the ineptitude and neglect of the Colonial Office, which likewise tolerated the abominable Family Compact that oppressed and robbed Canada for generations. The troubles were owing also, in part, to the vain hopes cherished by wearied, disappointed, and incapable persons, that an elixir of bliss and prosperity awaited them across the ocean, without the display of industry or capacity on their part.

For more than half a century after the English flag was raised on the shores of the Australian continent of three millions of square miles, it was mainly treated as a convenient spot for deporting criminals. Out of sight was literally out of mind. The murderer and the victim of the game-laws, the burglar, and the resister of oppression, the vilest felons and patriotic reformers, were alike consigned to that abyss of woe. What they did there, and what they became, under martinet military governors and their irresponsible myrmidons, separated from the home authorities and from public opinion by half the circumference of the globe, were matters of no concern, though the financial cost was half a million annually, with moral results that no figures can tabulate and no words can describe. Enough is known from the Parliamentary Papers of 1822, 1832, 1837, 1838, and 1847, from numerous works written by eye-witnesses, and from such terrible realistic stories as Marcus Clarke's 'His Natural Life,' to reveal as by a lurid light the way in which savagery and lawlessness engendered by the penal system were sought to be sternly suppressed by brutal rigour and by martial law, only to break out in aggravated forms. The full tale of misery, corruption, debauchery, tyranny, cruelty, and crime can never be told. Treated as wild beasts and demons, the unhappy creatures became such

in reality. The penal settlements of Norfolk Island and of Botany Bay were synonymous terms for hell let loose. Dante's dismal legend of abandoned hope might have been inscribed over the portals. But they were 13,000 miles away, involving a voyage of nearly six months, and the secrets of the horrible prison and moral pest-house leaked out but occasionally and partially. It was not the business of any one to withdraw the veil, or it was not known how to proceed; but it was the official interest to keep things quiet, and to hush up any inconvenient rumours that reached England. In the last resort, loud, indignant, brazen denials were given, and then the indolent public went on its contented way.

At length, however, the free colonists, who had settled in Australia in increasing numbers, refused to allow the country to be treated as a common sewer for felons and scoundrels from England. Then, in 1840, part of the stream was diverted to South Africa, but the first shipload was refused a landing at Cape Town. Eventually, after a horrible experiment of keeping criminals on board of floating hulks, a scheme of penal servitude at home had to be devised, both punitive and reformatory in character. One result is that there are now fewer than ten thousand convicts, against five times that number in 1836, when the population was not much more than half the returns of the Census of 1891. South Africa was colonized after the middle of the century to a greater extent than formerly. Cape Colony had been ceded to England by the Dutch in 1814. New Settlements were established at Natal and elsewhere in 1843. The centre of the vast continent was supposed for years to be a trackless desert. Mungo Park, James Bruce, Henry Salt, Major Denham, Clapperton, Campbell, J. L. Burckhardt, Richard and John Lander, John Baptist Belzoni, James Richardson, Dr. Henry Barth, Dr. Edward Vogel, and other intrepid explorers had been foiled in attempts to penetrate into the interior. Not until 1849 was David Livingstone able to open up a way into the Dark Unknown; revealing populous regions, teeming with natural resources, but cursed by tribal wars and slavery. His protracted journeys across Equatorial Africa, from

the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, were patiently continued for months and years with marvellous results to science and to commerce, until death overtook him, May 4, 1873, at Ilala; solitary and remote, except for a few native attendants. They brought his remains, after many perils, and a lengthened and toilsome march, down to the coast, whence they were despatched to England, to find a fitting resting-place in Westminster Abbey. His father-in-law, Robert Moffat, deserves to be honourably remembered for fifty years' devoted missionary labour among the tribes of South Africa. Captains Speke and Grant, Commander Lovett Cameron, Sir Samuel Baker, and, most of all, Sir Richard Burton, did much to explore parts of the Dark Continent and to trace the ancient problem as to the sources of the Nile. Henry M. Stanley, assisted by a body of less known but courageous and unrequited men, and under circumstances that gave rise to severe criticism and to a controversy yet unsettled, completed the task which Livingstone set himself to accomplish. This has been followed by a mad scramble among the English, French, Belgians, Germans, Italians, and Portuguese, for the apportionment of the coast-line; with as much of the interior as can be seized and held.

The traditions and red-tape of the Colonial Office, and unwise attempts to perpetuate in these nascent empires in distant parts of the world the usages and methods of the mother-country, and especially to adopt a patriarchal and minatory supervision from Downing-street, led to troubles like the Canadian Rebellion of 1837. Lord Durham was sent out as a pacificator, and judged it prudent to yield the points contended for in the way of local self-government. His scheme was sanctioned only in part by the Colonial Office, which censured him and goaded him into resigning. However, in 1840, an Act was passed, uniting the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and granting a popular Constitution. Twenty-seven years later, the various Territories in British North America were federated, under the title of the Dominion of Canada, on the plan originally suggested by Lord Durham. Another trouble, arising out of ecclesiastical squabbles over three millions of acres of land in Upper Canada, known as the Clergy Reserves,

was not settled until 1854, when Parliament enacted that after providing for life-interests, the proceeds should be used for municipal purposes and for education. Similar difficulties arose in Australia, from foolish attempts to establish there a politico-ecclesiastical system identical with England, but under conditions wholly diverse.

After a time it was found necessary to concede a larger measure of local self-government and an extension of the representative system in Australia. The governors were to be appointed and removable by the Crown, maintaining a pinchbeck royalty; and were to nominate one-third of the members of the Legislative Assemblies, to whose decision questions of tariff and of the sale of waste lands were to be left. Barely had these arrangements been effected in 1850, when the discovery of gold, similar to that in California, which startled and demoralized the world in 1847, attracted a vast number of emigrants, mostly of the helpless and useless type. In that year there were not quite seventeen thousand; but in 1852 the increase was more than fivefold. Within a decade, gold to the value of £90,000,000 reached England from New South Wales and Victoria. Seventeen years later, similar excitement attended the discovery of diamonds in Cape Colony. In the course of time, things found their natural level. Trade and industry reaped the chief share of the benefit; and the community found the advantage in a diffusion of wealth that assisted the development of the Colonies. Most of them, however, in common with Canada, adopted a policy of Protection, even against the mother-country. In most of them, also, the advance of the white man has involved the extinction of the native races, mainly through war, disease, and drunkenness. The case of the Maoris of New Zealand, a superior Malay race, is peculiarly hard. In a few years there will be probably not one survivor of the 120,000 who are said to have inhabited the North Island in 1848; just as all the aborigines of Tasmania, and nearly all those of Australia, have perished within living memory.

This recapitulation of events included in the Modern Political and Social Revival is followed by a final group relating to the Actual and Potential.

Period XV.--ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL.

A.D. 1846–1895.

Chapter.

83.—Modern Ecclesiastical Affairs.
84.—The Crimean War.
85.—The Indian Mutiny.
86.—Cabinet Mutations.
87.—Summary and Conclusion.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

MODERN ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

A.D. 1846–1874.

ONE of the seasons of ecclesiastical excitement which occur with a kind of periodicity broke out, both in England and Scotland, just before the middle of the century, and was followed, after a time, by organic changes in the Irish Church. With the increase of Anglicanism, and with the decay of the Evangelical movement, a larger, more tolerant, and more generous spirit was manifested among a section of the clergy, known as the Broad Church party. Dr. Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), Richard Whately (1787–1863), Archbishop of Dublin, Frederick Denison Maurice, Charles Kingsley, F. W. Robertson of Brighton, Dean Stanley, and other able and distinguished men, whose spirit and motives are deserving of all honour, identified themselves with the movement, which, though restricted and transient, owing to adverse circumstances, helped to mollify ecclesiastical controversies. The identity of a Christian Commonwealth and Church was the vision that inspired Hooker; and it was the ruling thought of Selden's grave sense, of Burke's political philosophy, and of the religious philosophy of Coleridge. It was a beautiful dream, but wholly impracticable, with the remembrance of Acts of Uniformity and of a long course of intolerance, and with ever-present contrarieties of human nature and diverse interpretations of doctrine and polity. The door of comprehension was finally shut and barred in 1689. Dissenters continued to agitate for the removal of specific disabilities and grievances. A Church-Rate Abolition Society was formed in 1836; springing out of the indignant feeling aroused by repeated seizures of goods, and by the imprisonment for non-payment of persons conscientiously objecting. The celebrated Braintree case dragged along for many years through the law-courts, which at length upheld the right of the parish vestry to determine whether a rate should be imposed. Not until 1868 was the power abandoned

of enforcing payment from unwilling persons. Voluntary Church Associations were formed in various places in 1834, following the Society for Promoting Ecclesiastical Knowledge, in 1820, and preceding the Religious Freedom Society, in 1839; but their existence was brief. In 1844, the British Anti-State-Church Association, now known as the Liberation Society, was established, mainly under the influence of Edward Miall, whose lofty moral purpose, clearness of spiritual insight, and firm grasp of the principle of absolute religious equality, gave him a unique position as a leader and teacher. Directing public attention, in the first instance, to the redress of practical grievances, and to the securing of civil rights, the object persistently sought has been the detachment of ecclesiastical and spiritual matters from all governmental and legislative interference. An abstract principle, however true and noble, does not arouse and inspire average human nature like a concrete and pressing injustice. It is not surprising, therefore, that, with growing wealth and luxury, and with the redress of social and civic wrongs, many Nonconformists have ceased to concern themselves about the Established Church, of which they are legal members; and regard its continued existence and its internal dissensions with equanimity, even while custom, or tradition, or local circumstances keep them outside its pale.

Ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland, since the Act of Union, had been marked by much excitement and by frequent disputes, chiefly connected with the presentation to benefices. The Secession Church was formed in 1733, under the leadership of Ebenezer Erskine of Stirling. It speedily divided into Burgher and Anti-Burgher, on a question as to whether the burgess-oath —to "profess and allow with the whole heart the true religion professed within the realm and authorized by the laws thereof"—could consistently be taken. Subsequently, another schism occurred, and the Old and New Lights remained separate and antagonistic for seventy years, when they re-united as the Associate Synod. Meanwhile, in 1758, the Relief Church had been founded, as the result of a dispute in the General Assembly on the claim of congregations to elect their

own ministers. There were other wrangles, such as the Marrow Controversy, one on the Atonement, and another on Voluntaryism, with mutual denunciations, the customary bad language of polemics, and refusals to join either in worship or in work, relieved now and again by the pious and devoted labours of men like James and Robert Haldane. The force of circumstances became adverse to repeated segregations, and in 1847 the United Presbyterian Church was formed. But the Kirk of Scotland had experienced a much graver breach, arising out of the old difficulty about patronage. A case arose in 1839 that brought to the test of law the constantly-recurring question whether the rights of a private patron to appoint a clergyman to a vacancy could be exercised to the extent of forcing him upon parishioners opposed to his ministrations. The test case arose in Auchterarder, Fifeshire. The people objected to the nominee, but the local Presbytery was ordered by the Court of Session to induct him. When the General Assembly intervened and forbade it, the civil courts were again appealed to, and under their mandate the installation was effected. The clergymen taking part in it were deposed; but they successfully appealed to the law for the maintenance of their status and emoluments.

The Ten Years' Conflict, as it was termed—for the above case was the crisis of an earlier dispute—culminated in the great Disruption of 1843, after fierce struggles in the pulpit and the Press, in the law courts and in Parliament, in the Presbyteries, the Synods, and the General Assembly. The question of patronage became absorbed in the wider and vital question whether the Kirk had any spiritual jurisdiction independent of the control of the civil power. Sir Robert Peel truly characterized it as involving "the establishment of an ecclesiastical domination, in defiance of the law," such as "could not be acceded to without the utmost ultimate danger both to the religious liberties and the civil rights of the people." All compromise was rejected, and, being foiled in successive appeals to the law, 474 clergymen, or two-fifths of the whole body, constituted themselves into the Free Church of Scotland. They repudiated the name of Voluntaries, claiming to be the original and genuine

Scottish Kirk, and to have the right to sustentation from the State without submitting to its control. Their position was logically untenable, and was proved to be so ere long; but the older men of that generation tenaciously clung to it to the last. Dr. Thomas Chalmers plainly said, and his utterance was endorsed as authoritative,—"Though we quit the Establishment, we go out on Establishment principles." Munificent contributions were forthcoming for the erection of churches, manses, and schools, for a Sustentation Fund, and for home and foreign missionary work. The places of the seceders were filled up, more easily than some hoped; and within forty years the original bone of contention was removed by the abolition of patronage. But no desire was manifested to return to the original fold, even if it had been possible. Time, the great Healer, has smoothed the aspersities of the long strife.

Clerical difficulties arose in England at the same time, chiefly from the Tractarian Movement at Oxford. The name was derived from a series of anonymous papers by various writers, issued between September, 1833, and February, 1841, entitled, 'Tracts for the Times.' What were described as Anglican principles, as distinct from Protestantism, and also as distinct from some of those by the Romish Church, were brought into prominence; especially those of antiquity, tradition, authority, and Catholicity, as recognised in some of the formularies. Emphasis was given to the idea of the Church, to the importance of the Sacraments, and the significance of the priesthood. Baptismal Regeneration, the Real Presence, saving grace through the Eucharist, Apostolical succession, and the Power of the Keys, were strongly insisted upon. The immediate occasion was political; from the panic caused by the French Revolution of 1830, from a dread of the Reformed Parliament, and from dislike of Catholic Emancipation, of the Irish Church Act of 1833, and of the Anglo-Prussian scheme of a Jerusalem Bishopric. In its essence and root-causes, however, it was, in part, like the earlier Evangelical movement of which it was the complement, a protest against formalism and Erastianism; and, in part, a revived love for mediæval literature, a renewal of the

ancient strife with Puritanism, and an assertion that the English Church is entitled to speak with authority as representing the Early Fathers. Coleridge's influence was unmistakable. William Jones, of Nayland, Sikes, of Gainsborough, and H. H. Norris, of Hackney, were among the clergymen who paved the way; like Joshua Watson and Alexander Knox among learned laymen.

The chief promoter and leader was John Keble (1792-1866). With him were associated John Henry Newman, afterwards Cardinal, Richard Hurrell Froude, William George Ward, Isaac Williams, Hugh James Rose, and the learned Dr. Edward Bouverie Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church. Keble's famous Assize Sermon, preached in Oxford University pulpit, July 14, 1833, and published, under the startling title of 'National Apostasy,' is commonly regarded as the beginning of the new crusade. Of the earnestness and sincerity of the leaders, no doubt can be entertained. Many persons were puzzled by what seemed to be a revival of the refinements of the Schoolmen, and found it difficult to appreciate the metaphysics or the casuistry that drew subtle distinctions between Romish and Anglican teachings. But it is needful to repeat that the Book of Common Prayer is an avowed compromise. The Tractarians carried out some of its teachings, and those of the Homilies and of the authorized Catechism, to their extreme logical results. Sir William Palmer, in 'Origines Liturgicæ,' published at Oxford in 1828, insisted upon the almost forgotten fact that the Prayer Book is mainly a translation from earlier uses, as was clearly shown in the fortieth Chapter. "We agree with Rome," said Keble, "about our major premisses; our differences are about the minor." Ward, in his 'Ideal Church,' plainly stated that, in subscribing the Articles, he renounced no one Roman doctrine. Newman maintained that the true rule of faith is not in Scripture alone, but also in apostolic tradition as interpreted by the Church. Statements in the Prayer Book were strained, or modified, or glossed, or explained away, so as to bring them into apparent harmony with what was regarded as Catholic doctrine or practice.

The agitation was brought to a crisis in 1841 by the

issue of the notorious 'Tract No. XC.,' written by Newman, with the avowed design to stem the strong tide Romewards, by showing that the Thirty-nine Articles might be construed into an agreement with Mediæval Christianity, and that Romish dogmas might consistently be held with subscription to the Articles. The Tract laid down, as the first principle of all, the duty "to take our Reformed Confessions in the most Catholic sense they will admit. We have no duties towards their framers." Newman afterwards alleged, in his 'Apologia,' that the position assumed by his party was that "the Articles are to be interpreted, not according to the meaning of the writers, but, as far as the wording will admit, according to the sense of the Catholic Church." He claimed the right of holding, with Bramall (1593–1663), Archbishop of Armagh, a comprecation with the Saints; and the doctrine of the Mass, all but Transubstantiation, with Bishop Andrews; or, with Hooker, that the latter is not a point for Churches to part communion upon; or, with Henry Hammond (1605–1630), that a General Council, truly such, never did and never can err in a matter of faith; or, with Herbert Thorndike (died 1672), that penance is a propitiation for post-baptismal sin; or, with Pearson (1613–1686), Bishop of Chester, that the all-powerful name of Jesus is not otherwise given than in the Catholic Church. Newman and Pusey also made bold and uncertain plunges into the vast quagmires of Patristic antiquarianism, where average men could not follow.

A keen and painful controversy ensued on what was termed the non-natural interpretation of the standards of the Church, or, the old Doctrine of Reserve. A copious literature, of the usual vehement nature, was created on both sides. It was maintained that the clergy might subscribe the Articles with mental reservations, might read into them their own meaning, and might teach so much as seemed fitting. Plain men, taking a common-sense view of the use of language, were shocked, and failed to understand how the dead controversies of former centuries could be resuscitated in order to un-Protestantize the Church of England. Before long, Newman, Manning, the Wilberforces, Frederick William Faber,

Ward, and others, perceived their untenable position, and went over to the Romish communion, followed by many other clergymen, by some influential laymen, and by women not a few. Pusey was surprised and pained at the numerous defections. His mind was so constituted as to be unable to perceive the inevitable drift and the logical terminus of his opinions. It is unfortunate, and somewhat misleading, that the essentials of Tractarianism have come to be almost lost sight of in the accidents and externals of ritual; so that matters of architecture, furniture, dress, adornment, attitude, genuflexion, with all the adjuncts of sensuous emotionalism —the mere millinery and upholstery so dear to a certain order of minds —are regarded as of supreme importance, because of the symbolical meaning attached to them. Yet, apart from the excrescences and abuses of the movement, it undoubtedly gave an impulse to Church work, and aroused a spirit of consecration and energy in public worship and in philanthropic action, the effects of which are seen in many places and in divers forms, awakening the admiration and stimulating the zeal of good men of every creed.

The suppression of the 'Tracts for the Times,' and the prosecution and suspension of Pusey for two years, led to much excitement within the Church of England. The various sections prepared for a decisive trial of strength. Dr. Hampden's selection for the See of Hereford, by Lord John Russell, was the occasion of a severe conflict. Hampden's opinions had been condemned as heretical, in 1830, by the Oxford authorities, on his appointment as Regius Professor of Divinity; but their comminations, if loud, were harmless, for they could not remove him, or interfere with his stipend. Thirteen prelates now joined, with many clergymen and laymen, in an address of protest to Lord Russell, who rejected it, as an invasion of the rights of the Crown. Dr. Merewether, the Dean of Hereford, intimated that his Chapter would not go through the form of an election, and was curtly told that its members would thereby violate the law. This exposed them to the pains and penalties of Præmunire; whereupon they meekly yielded. The controversy was embittered by two cases out of many in the diocese of

Exeter. Bishop Henry Phillpotts (1777–1869) was a prelate of the Hildebrand order, combining also, according to the 'Edinburgh Review' of January, 1852, the bad qualities of a Cyril, a Becket, a Borgia, a Warburton, an Atterbury, and a Kitchin. The Rev. James Shore had officiated for eleven years in a district chapel, under the Bishop's license, which was withdrawn, as a new rector would not give the required consent. Mr. Shore registered his chapel as a Nonconformist place of worship, but continued to perform the Liturgical service. The Bishop commenced proceedings against him, alleging the indelibility of holy orders; and he was imprisoned for two months for the costs of an unsuccessful appeal to the Privy Council. In the other case, in 1847, the militant prelate refused to institute the Rev. C. G. Gorham to the living of Brampford Speke, on the ground that he did not believe in the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. The case was at length brought on appeal before the Judicial Committee, and, after elaborate arguments, judgment was delivered March 8, 1850, declaring Mr. Gorham's opinions "not contrary or repugnant to the doctrine of the Church"; which, however, was left undefined, as it had been since the Reformation. Mutual forbearance was urged, so as to permit diversity of opinions on matters not expressly and positively settled. Institution to the living took place, in spite of the Bishop, who refused to perform it, and who publicly renounced and excommunicated the Primate whom he had sworn to reverence and obey. The feeling thus aroused was intensified by action on the other side, in prosecuting Archdeacon Denison for sermons delivered in 1853 in Wells Cathedral, in which he was alleged to have maintained baldly and boldly the dogma of the Real Presence. For this he was condemned by Archbishop Sumner, under the Church Discipline Act, after a trial by a Commission, and was ordered to be deprived of all his preferments. On the technical ground that the suit had not been commenced within the prescribed time, the decision was reversed, February 6, 1858, on final appeal to the Judicial Committee, which expressed no opinion on the question of heterodoxy.

What was known as the Papal Aggression occurred in

1850. Heretofore the administration of the Roman Church in England had rested with eight Vicars-Apostolic. Encouraged by numerous defections through the Tractarian movement, and in the expectation that the country was about to return to the ancient faith, it was decided at Rome to issue a Brief, creating a hierarchy of twelve bishops, with Cardinal Wiseman at its head. Religious fanaticism was aroused, and intolerance asserted itself. Great meetings were convened, for the delivery of fervid addresses, and for passing the customary resolutions of bigoted denunciation of the great Whore of Babylon, the Scarlet Woman, and the Beast of the Apocalypse. All who withstood the popular frenzy, or who would not utter the prescribed Shibboleths, became objects of suspicion, attack, and obloquy. Lord John Russell addressed an open letter to Bishop Maltby, of Durham, stigmatizing the action of Pope Pius IX. as insolent and insidious, and administering a sharp rebuke to the Tractarians. His brave words were not followed by equally valiant deeds; insomuch that he was likened by 'Punch' to a small boy chalking "No Popery" on a door, and then running away. An Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was brought in, February 7, 1851, forbidding their assumption, under heavy penalties. Before the second reading, the public mind had calmed. The measure, carried only in part, was never enforced, and became a dead letter. In the course of a generation it was quietly repealed. But the record stands as one of the many monuments of human fanaticism and imbecility, on which future ages will gaze with pitying wonder.

In the Census of 1851, the inhabitants of the United Kingdom were returned at 27,595,388. An attempt was made, for the first and only time, to obtain particulars as to the provision for religious worship, and the extent to which it was used. The report gave 35 distinct ecclesiastical communities, besides a few small and isolated sects. The Established Church had 14,077 places of worship in England and Wales, with 5,317,015 sittings, and 3,773,474 attendants. All other denominations had 20,390 places, 4,804,720 sittings, and 3,487,558 attendants. In Scotland, the Kirk had 1183 buildings, 707,088 sittings, and 713,567 attendants,

while all other bodies had 2212 ; 1,067,717 ; and 975,482 respectively. Ireland was not included. The accuracy of the figures was impugned ; but one result of the inquiry has failed to receive due attention. After making deductions for sick persons, young children, and others unavoidably detained, the reasonable conclusion was that 58 per cent. of the population could be present in church at one time, if so disposed. Hence there were in England and Wales more than three millions who might have attended, in addition to those actually present. Recent local and unofficial but reliable investigations show that not more than one-sixth of the people are to be found in the various places of worship. The rivalry of the sects does not appear to allow of an effectual remedy being devised. In crowded cities, numerous churches, often half-empty, are found in close proximity ; and in small towns and villages the supply vastly exceeds the demand or the need. When attempts were made by the joint efforts of Episcopalians and others to conduct special services in public halls and in theatres, they were declared illegal, under an Act of 52 George III. A proposal by the Earl of Shaftesbury, in 1855, to repeal that measure, was resisted, as an infraction of the parochial principle. A compromise was effected, saving the rights of incumbents, and under the sanction of the bishop, in each case.

Before the clergy had recovered from the shock of the Census revelations, they were stimulated into a new form of heresy-hunting. A number of independent treatises, under the title of 'Essays and Reviews,' appeared in 1862. The contributors, among whom was Dr. Temple, head-master of Rugby, then Bishop of Exeter and of London, were styled by opponents, *Septem contra Christum*, and their teachings were said to be contrary to the doctrines of the Church. The book was the staple theme for a time with voluble pulpit and platform orators, and with writers of Carlyle's Able-Editor type. Their frenzied denunciations were echoed by multitudes whose knowledge consisted only of garbled quotations in party newspapers. It was the same with such works as the 'Vestiges of Creation,'

anonymously issued, but ascribed to Robert Chambers, with Professor Sir John Seeley's 'Ecce Homo,' Charles Darwin's elaborate exposition of the Evolution theory, and T. T. Lynch's 'Rivulet'; the heated but ridiculous wrangles over which rent the Congregational body in 1856. Proceedings in the Arches Court resulted in a partial condemnation, reversed, on appeal, by the Judicial Committee, but, as usual, without pronouncing an opinion on the general tendency of 'Essays and Reviews,' or on any one specifically. A Declaration and Protest was signed by 11,000 clergymen, and what was called a Synodical censure was carried in Convocation; but, as with the terrible curse upon the Jackdaw of Rheims, "nobody seemed one penny the worse." That disputatious body had been allowed to meet in 1852, after its long and enforced silence since 1717. It is in no true sense representative, and no resolution passed is more than a pious opinion, for there is no binding force without legislative sanction. Fuller says—"Every Convocation in itself is born deaf and dumb, so that it can neither hear nor speak concerning religion till first, 'Be thou opened!' be pronounced unto it by royal authority."

A fresh outburst of clerical artillery was heard, in 1862, over a book by Bishop Colenso of Natal, in which he challenged certain numerical statements in the Pentateuch. There were many replies, and Dr. Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, cited Colenso to appear before him, and, in his absence, pronounced a sentence of deposition. He appealed to the Queen in Council, and the Judicial Committee, after much argument and prolonged deliberation, decided, March 20, 1865, that the judgment of Bishop Gray was invalid, not on the theological merits of the case, which were carefully avoided, but because his letters-patent as Metropolitan of South Africa were granted in error, without the consent of the Legislature of the Cape Colony. Thereupon, most of the English prelates renounced communion with the alleged heresiarch, who remained legal Bishop of Natal, while another clergyman was ordained in Scotland, to avoid possible penalties, and was sent out as a rival prelate. Whatever may be

thought of Colenso's theological opinions, and of his nibbling arithmetical criticisms, his memory is deserving of honour for his self-denying labours among the Zulus, whom he did his utmost to protect and to civilize. The Zulu War of 1879, and that with the Basutos in the following year, like the Abyssinian War of 1867, and the one against Ashanti in 1874, gave rise to proceedings on which future generations of Englishmen will not reflect with pride or complacency. Three years later, the Transvaal was annexed; an area of 120,000 square miles, with an estimated white population of 40,000 and 250,000 negroes. The former were descended from the Dutch Boers who left Cape Colony between 1830 and 1840, rather than submit to the abolition of slavery, and constituted themselves the South African Republic. In 1879, they again asserted their independence.

The question of the Irish Church, left unsettled by the expedient of partial reform in 1833, had been repeatedly discussed in Parliament. Practical statesmen felt that the anomaly and injustice of an alien Church must not continue. Mr. Gladstone submitted in 1868 a series of resolutions, which were carried against the Disraeli Ministry by 330 to 265 votes, and in May he brought in a Bill to stop any new clerical appointments. At the General Election in July the Conservatives were in a minority of 128. Gladstone came into office; his Cabinet including John Bright, as President of the Board of Trade. A Bill for effecting the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church in Ireland was introduced, March 1, 1869, and passed in its integrity by the Commons. It was accepted by the Lords—largely through the wise intervention of the Queen with Archbishop Tait, as appears from his 'Life'—when the best possible bargain as to pecuniary terms had been made. The principle of a State-Church was surrendered, and nothing more was heard of the theories of Hooker, of Jeremy Taylor, or even of Warburton, as soon as it was perceived that the inevitable change must come. Gladstone estimated that the compensation of the bishops and parochial

incumbents would amount to £4,900,000, but the sum actually paid was £6,486,000. The compensation to curates, put down at £800,000, was swollen to £1,803,935 by hundreds of colourable appointments made just before the Act came into force. Lay-patrons were supposed to be entitled to £300,000, whereas they received £778,887. These excessive payments were mainly due to the rejection of the Suspensory Bill by the House of Lords. The Act came into force January 1, 1871. The fabrics of the cathedrals and churches were retained, with all private endowments since 1660. Bishops ceased to be peers of the realm. The Episcopal Church in Ireland was left free to manage its own affairs by an elected representative body. The Regium Donum to Presbyterian ministers, and the annual grant to Maynooth College, were commuted by an immediate payment of fourteen years in value of the respective sums.

For some years prior to 1871 there had been an efflorescence of Ritualism in the Church of England. Emboldened by the ambiguities of the Rubrics, and especially by the contradictory directions of the First and Second Prayer Books, and also by the restricted powers of the bishops, and the difficulty and costliness of putting even these in force, numerous clergymen sought to assimilate Anglican worship to the ancient ritual. A Royal Commission was appointed in 1867 to inquire into the matter, but the Report, with its carefully balanced recommendations, was allowed to drop. Proceedings were instituted in the Arches Court against certain clergymen whose tenets and practices were conspicuous. Some were admonished and others were suspended, but the forbidden practices were not abandoned, except in a colourable and evasive manner. An address, signed by 60,000 influential laymen, was presented in May, 1873, to the two Archbishops, calling attention to the spread of Ritualism. In the following year Tait brought into the Lords the Public Worship Regulation Bill. It was attacked on all sides; for excess and for defect. Gladstone assailed it with vehemence in the Commons, in a series of five elaborate resolutions. The Premier, Disraeli, virtually endorsed the Bill; saying, in his clever, rhe-

torical way, that its object was to "put down the Mass in masquerade." Lord Penzance was appointed as special judge to carry out its provisions, but they could not be enforced, owing to numerous flaws, to ingenious technicalities, and to the veto which a bishop could place upon the action of any "three aggrieved parishioners."

As time advanced and as the histrionic vagaries and the defiance of the extreme party increased, more prosecutions were instituted, and dragged along their tortuous and expensive course for years. The Erastian theory of the Church, as held by politicians, was re-affirmed, and the utter inutility of Acts of Uniformity was again demonstrated. The wave of ecclesiastical excitement that spread over England was part of a larger wave that swept across Europe. Clerical difficulties arose in France, Prussia, Austria, and Italy, with frequent collisions between the Ultramontanists and the civil authorities. An Ecumenical Council, convened at Rome by Pius IX., sat from December, 1867, to September, 1870, and gave rise to much controversy. The chief result of the parade and pomp of these lengthened debates, to which nearly a thousand prelates were summoned from all parts of the world, was the formulation of the dogma of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. It was a singular coincidence that, at the same time, and in defiance of his protests and threats, Rome was incorporated as part of the Kingdom of Italy, and the seat of supreme government was transferred thither from Florence. The subject of the Vatican Decrees, in their bearing upon civil allegiance, was treated by Gladstone, with his customary zest for theological polemics, in a series of pamphlets which evoked a storm of criticism.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

THE CRIMEAN WAR.

A.D. 1851–1857.

A Republic was proclaimed in France, February 26, 1848, after the Revolution which drove Louis Philippe from the throne. Louis Napoleon, reputed nephew of

the first Emperor, who had already made several futile and ridiculous attempts to trade upon his name, was elected President for four years by popular vote. On December 2, 1851, he effected a *coup d'etat ;* dissolving the National Assembly, with which his relations had become strained, and by a stroke of the pen conferring universal suffrage as a mask for obtaining despotic power. Paris was declared in a state of siege. Numbers of innocent and unresisting persons were shot or bayoneted in the streets. Newspapers were suppressed, and all the prominent political leaders were arrested. Victor Hugo and A. W. Kinglake have narrated the story in words of burning indignation. In the following November, a similar pretended national appeal, backed by like means, secured a restoration of the tinsel Empire. It was sustained until 1870 by a profuse expenditure, by a showy but profligate Court, and by a swollen army, for the benefit of a crowd of rapacious harpies. Then the mushroom fabric was stricken, and it perished like Jonah's gourd. An ill-advised attack upon Prussia, designed to bolster up waning popularity and to divert attention from the rottenness of the Government, was repulsed with irretrievable disaster at Metz and at Sedan. Louis Napoleon became a captive, and then an exile. The Prussians entered Paris in triumph, and dictated humiliating terms of peace. Many persons had been dazzled by the temporary success of the *coup d'etat.* Lord Palmerston, as Foreign Secretary, took upon himself to express to the French ambassador approval of the events of December, 1851, and to send to the English ambassador in Paris a despatch couched in similar terms; not only without consulting his colleagues, but in defiance of their decision of neutrality, and of express instructions given the year before, when other embarrassments had arisen through his action, that all despatches were first to be submitted to the Queen and to the Cabinet.

Palmerston was therefore superseded in his office by Earl Granville ; but watched for an opportunity "to be even with Johnny Russell," as he expressed it. No love was lost between the two, owing to their squabbles for party leadership. The chance came ere long, and unexpectedly. In February, 1852, Palmerston carried an

amendment in the Commons on the Militia Bill, against the Ministry, which had to resign. It had become, as is usual, enervated during six years of office, and had lost public confidence. Earl Derby—late Lord Stanley—was sent for, but his Cabinet fell before the end of the year, although it formally abandoned Protection, being defeated on the financial proposals of Mr. Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer. A Coalition Ministry was formed, with the Earl of Aberdeen at its head. Palmerston was transferred to the Home Office, where it was thought he would be powerless for mischief; his old post being filled by Lord John Russell, his rival and former chief. Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, delivered the first of a series of luminous financial expositions, retaining the close attention of the House while he stated and vindicated his policy, and investing what is usually regarded as a dry array of Budget figures with the charms of literary, classical, and philosophical allusion. The incidence of taxation was readjusted, "adopting it to ourselves as a sacred aim to diffuse and distribute the burdens, if we must, and the benefits, if we can, with equal and impartial hand." The purpose was high and noble, and the suggested methods might have succeeded under other conditions; but there was in the political firmament a little cloud, not larger than a man's hand, foreboding trouble and disaster.

It was hoped and believed by many, whose enthusiasm outran the teachings of experience, that the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations, held in Hyde Park in 1851, was the inauguration of an era of universal peace. The dream was rudely dispelled within twenty-four months of the closing of the Palace of Glass, by the outbreak of a war with Russia. The immediate occasion was an acute form of the long-standing dispute between the Latin and Greek Churches for the possession of the Holy Places in Jerusalem. The real cause was found in the ambitious projects of the Czar Nicholas, in a revival, under changed conditions, of the policy of Peter the Great and of Catherine II., and in designs said to be entertained by Russia upon Constantinople. Louis Napoleon fomented the strife, for dynastic reasons. His precipitate action forced on the conflict. Sardinia threw

in her lot with him, and reaped the reward of her folly six years later, when he betrayed and abandoned her hope of a United Italy, with Rome for a capital, as soon as he had secured his own ends by the defeat of the Austrians at Solferino and in other battles. All this was part of the Nemesis of the Crimean War. A combined English and French fleet arrived in Besika Bay, within Turkish jurisdiction, June 15, 1853. Seventeen days later, the Russians crossed the River Pruth, and entered Moldavia. Around that Principality and Wallachia an endless controversy waged. Austria and Prussia intervened to effect a settlement; but Abdul Medjid, the feeble Sultan of Turkey, and his incompetent and corrupt advisers, assured of support by the English ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning (1780–1880), afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, would yield nothing, or introduced conditions "under the conviction that they could not be complied with." Such is the language of one of the despatches of Lord Clarendon, successor of Lord Russell at the Foreign Office. Herein lies the key of the position. Turkey had nothing to lose, but everything to gain by a war undertaken to bolster up her tottering rule, and to deliver her from the consequences of scandalous misgovernment and oppression. She declared war, October 5, and her troops crossed the Danube on the 25th; the ambassadors in London and in Paris being instructed to say that reliance was placed on the material and moral support of England and France.

Six months later, England drifted into the conflict. It involved the rigours and horrors of two Crimean Winters, the sacrifice of 28,000 English lives, the permanent disablement of a much larger number, and the expenditure of £75,000,000 beyond the then average charge of £10,000,000 per annum on the Army and Navy; besides similar results, in varying degrees, to the other contending parties. The total loss of life, in battle and from disease, including Russia, was roughly estimated at half a million, and the total cost of treasure at £202,000,000. The loss to commerce and industry cannot be appraised. The story is narrated in such works as A. W. Kinglake's and Sir W. H. Russell's, where full details are given of the Battles of the Alma,

of Balaklava, with its "thin, red line" of Ninety-third Highlanders, and of Inkermann, the private soldiers' battle; with repeated attacks upon strongholds like the Redan and the Malakhoff, the awful tragedy of months of work in the trenches, amidst snow and sleet, and the suffering and disease induced by exposure, aggravated by the incompetence of the Commissariat, by the inflexible and preposterous rules of the Circumlocution Office, and by the frauds of contractors, eager to make vampire profits. The Crimean War revealed, in a way that startled and shocked the nation, how unprepared were the two great branches of the military force, notwithstanding that £800,000,000 had been spent since 1815 to maintain a supposed state of efficiency. Divided and conflicting authority; laborious but useless checks and counterchecks; defective means of transport; absence of the commonest medical necessaries; universal muddle, waste, and incompetence; superabundant pipe-clay and red-tape, caused a needless prolongation of the war, and inflicted untold horrors. Nobody had the courage to break through a monstrous and effete system that produced all this chaos and misery, involving the death of thousands of brave men. They nobly discharged their duty and upheld the national renown, under circumstances of extreme difficulty, peril, and suffering. There were numerous instances of personal heroism; to recognise and reward which the Order of the Victoria Cross was instituted in 1856.

When the tidings reached England, plunging thousands of homes in misery and in mourning, a cry of agony and rage burst forth. There were fierce discussions in Parliament and in the Press. A Royal Commission, a Parliamentary Committee, and a Board of Officers at Chelsea arrived at three different and conflicting verdicts as to the causes of the scandalous mismanagement, and as to the incidence of blame. But the immediate duty was to provide for the wants of the men in the Crimea. Large sums and ample supplies were freely given. 'The Times' raised £25,000 for purchasing suitable stores and medical comforts. Florence Nightingale immortalized herself and glorified her sex by setting forth with a party of volunteer ladies to initiate a system

of nursing in the crowded hospitals of Scutari, where she speedily effected a beneficent change in the squalid and noisome wards into which cargoes of living putrescence had been discharged from the hospital ships. A Patriotic Fund was formed for the relief of widows and orphans, which eventually amounted to a million and a half. An inevitable effect of the mistakes, the fatalities, and the losses of the war was a public censure of the Government. Probably the system was chiefly to blame, and under any other Ministry similar results would have accrued. At such crises people do not stay to reason, but demand a victim for condign punishment. J. A. Roebuck, M.P. for Sheffield, carried by 305 to 148 a motion for a Commission of Inquiry, and the Aberdeen Cabinet resigned. Palmerston became Prime Minister, February 7, 1855. The war was prosecuted during the year with energy, and on September 8 the Russians evacuated Sebastopol, after blowing up its defences and sinking the ships. Austria intervened with proposals for peace, which were at length accepted, after tedious and intricate negotiations.

In the early days of the war, Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced that each year must bear its own expenses. A chief source of supply was the Income Tax. It was doubled in 1854, and then increased to 11½d. on incomes above £100, but below £150, and to 16d. beyond. Additions were also made to the duties on spirits and other liquors; giving some ground for the rhetorical assertion of the Earl of Derby, that England drank herself out of the Crimean War. Ultimately, it was deemed needful to resort to borrowing, and £41,000,000 were added to the National Debt. A new phase of the vexed and interminable Eastern question appeared, after an interval, in 1875, in disputes between the Turks and Montenegrins, and, in the next year, in cruelties and murders perpetrated by the former in Bulgaria. The Ireland of the Penal Laws was a Paradise, compared with Eastern Europe under Ottoman domination. In both instances, the oppressed people would not purchase by apostasy immunity from oppression and suffering. The internal condition of Turkey had aroused much alarm in Europe since the Crimean War. The

Government was impotent, and the finances were bankrupt. During twenty years, £200,000,000 had been borrowed, chiefly in England, on stringent terms, and the Porte was unable to meet its obligations. Three Sultans had been raised and deposed in rapid succession by palace intrigues. Distant provinces were virtually left to the tyranny and greed of Pashas. Lord Derby addressed a stern reprimand, through the English ambassador, when he heard of the excesses in Bulgaria by semi-savage mercenaries drawn from the Bashi-Bazouks. All the dreadful particulars were not then known, but in August the ambassador sent from Constantinople details of atrocities perpetrated on helpless women and innocent children, as well as upon men. He said that at least 12,000 persons had been wantonly murdered. Such an outburst of indignation had not occurred since the days of Cromwell and the Protestants in Piedmont. Meetings were held to protest against the outrage done to humanity. Gladstone issued a pamphlet, and delivered a stirring address to his constituents on Blackheath. Disraeli ridiculed as coffee-house babble the stories in circulation, but their truth was conclusively established. Matters became complicated by the intervention of Russia on behalf of the oppressed Principalities, where most of the people belonged to the Greek Church. It seemed as though a general conflagration would occur in Europe through a course of conduct by Turkey, similar to that which precipitated the Crimean War.

Hostilities were actually commenced by Russia in April, 1877, and were continued fitfully through the Summer in Montenegro and Bulgaria. An English fleet was ordered to the Dardanelles, to defend the lives and property of British subjects, and to take care of British interests. Animated and prolonged discussions took place in both Houses; but when it was found that this country would not again embark in war on behalf of Turkey, she made terms with Russia, March 3, 1878, by the Treaty of San Stefano; agreeing to pay an indemnity, to accord independence to Servia and Montenegro, to form a new Principality for Bulgaria, with an extended boundary, and to cede certain territories to Russia. The bringing of 7000 native troops from

India to Malta, and the cession of Cyprus to England by Turkey as the result of a secret arrangement, were severely criticized in Parliament; but the Ministerial majority was large and decisive, under the glamour of the Berlin Congress, at which Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury represented England. Another surprise was in reserve. It was announced in November, 1878, that the British Government had acquired from the Khedive of Egypt, for a sum of £4,000,000, all his shares in the Suez Canal, or nine-twentieths of the whole, with a view to secure a control over the direct route to the East. In both cases, as in the original cession of Gibraltar, and then of Malta, the wisdom of the policy has been justified.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

THE INDIAN MUTINY.

A.D. 1857–1865.

Twelve months after the close of the Crimean War, a formidable mutiny broke out in the native army of Bengal, placing British rule in imminent jeopardy. With the enormous extension of territory by annexations, there had been a rapid increase of drilled and trained Sepoys, who became at length five times as numerous as the English soldiers. Since the Battle of Plassey, all the great victories had been won mainly by native troops under British officers. Sagacious men had long foretold the danger of so vast a force, chiefly recruited from among the Hindoos, with all their religious scruples of caste, just as the Roman Empire was weakened by its great expansion and by having to depend upon mercenaries, drawn from other subjugated provinces. Earlier local revolts, notably in 1806, at Vellore, in 1809 at Seringapatam, and in 1824 at Barrackpur, near Calcutta, were unheeded, as were recent premonitory symptoms of disaffection, so great was the confidence felt in the loyalty of the Sepoys, and so assured was the British hold upon India thought to be. The introduction of the

Minié rifle, instead of the old musket and percussion-cap, was said to be the immediate occasion of the mutiny. Its real causes lay in widespread and long-continued disaffection towards British rule. The cartridges formed a convenient pretext. They had to be greased before they were rammed into the barrel, and it was alleged that the fat of oxen, or cows, or swine was used for the purpose, so that they could not be touched or bitten by Hindoos and Mohammedans without doing violence to their religious prejudices.

Early in 1857 witnessed several instances of refusal to use the cartridges, and one or two regiments were disbanded. It soon became evident that insubordination was general. Fortunately, an outbreak on May 12, at Meerut, forty miles from Delhi, was premature, and revealed the plot. It might have been limited in area, in the opinion of competent authorities, if not wholly suppressed at the outset, but for the neglect or the incompetence of some officials. Instead of disarming the insurgents, they permitted them to depart to Delhi, where there was an immense arsenal and magazine, with no European regiment to protect it. Lieutenant Willoughby heroically blew it up, before every English officer was murdered. Measures were immediately taken to concentrate a large force upon that ancient city, into which the insurgents were pouring from a wide district; but it could not be captured for nearly four months. The massacres that took place in the meantime at Cawnpur and at Lucknow are the most appalling in Indian story; far exceeding the dismal tragedy of the Black Hole in Calcutta, June 20, 1756, when 123 victims perished in a night from being confined in a dungeon eighteen feet square. In the midst of general disaffection, some native princes, like Sindhia of Gwalior, and Holkar of Indur, remained faithful, and rendered invaluable service. Sir John Lawrence, afterwards Viceroy, held the Punjab, of which he was Commissioner, and despatched every available soldier to the scene of disturbance. He instinctively felt that Delhi was the key of the position, and that everything must be subordinated to the imperative necessity of recapturing the city When he heard that one of the panic-stricken com-

manders was intrenching himself instead of marching, he exclaimed, in his terse idiom, "Clubs are trumps; not spades." His own action in denuding the Punjab of men, ammunition, and stores, largely contributed to the suppression of the mutiny, and the preservation of the Indian Empire. His sagacity, courage, and energy must not obscure the lustre of other historic names, like Lord Harris, Lord Elphinstone, Herbert Edwardes, John Russell Colvin, Baird Smith, Hope Grant, the three Greatheds, Sir Hugh Wheeler, Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir James Outram, and many others.

Lord Canning (1812–1862), the Governor-General, son of George Canning, also grasped the situation, and took decisive measures in Calcutta. By his orders, reinforcements were sent from all parts of India. The troops on their way to China were intercepted. Large contingents were supplied from England, and Sir Colin Campbell (1792–1863)—created Lord Clyde for his services—was placed in supreme command. Before he could reach India, Sir Henry Havelock had retaken Cawnpur on the sixteenth of July, and advanced, fighting all the way, to the relief of Lucknow, only to be shut up there for two months with General Inglis and the gallant little band who had kept the place against overwhelming numbers of mutineers. Not until the first week in November was Clyde able to collect sufficient men and guns; but by the seventeenth he had cut his way through all opposition and rescued the Lucknow garrison, with the women and children. Havelock died, from dysentery, in the hour of victory. Delhi, the ancient city of the Mogul Emperors, had been already captured by Sir Archdale Wilson in September, after several days' hard fighting and heavy losses. With the fall of Lucknow, Oudh was again secured, and the mutiny was at an end. So far as can be known, its suppression cost £29,000,000, including the restoration of public buildings and property, and compensation to sufferers. The courage, fortitude, and readiness of resource displayed by most of the English were shadowed by cases of cruelty and rapine. Sir W. H. Russell, 'The Times' correspondent, describes in 'My Diary in India,' the destruction, the confusion, and the violence that prevailed, realising Thomas Camp-

bell's dreadful line—"And blood for blood shall India's plains bedew." Queen Victoria, with her noble, womanly nature, wrote to Lady Canning, strongly deprecating mere vengeance.

When the mutiny was suppressed, the Viceroy issued a Proclamation which was severely condemned by numerous Anglo-Indians, who ridiculed him as Clemency Canning, because he discriminated between those who had instigated the outbreak, or who had taken an active share in it, and those who had been forced into it, or who were in any degree less culpable. Lord Ellenborough, at the head of the India Office in England, so far forgot himself, in the gratification of personal and party feeling, as to send to Calcutta a severe and an insulting despatch, which the Home Government repudiated, and he had to resign. Ample justice was done by Canning's countrymen, ere long, to his statesmanship, his courage, and his discernment, as well as to his high sentiment of right and mercy, when a premature grave received him, worn out in the prime of life with over-work and a terrible strain of anxiety. The details of the awful story of the outbreak are given in Kaye's 'Sepoy War,' in Holmes' 'Indian Mutiny,' in the 'Lives' of the two Lawrences, in Malleson's 'History,' in the more recent one by Sir Evelyn Wood, and in numerous works describing local and personal incidents. The final result was the abolition of the dual government, and the transfer from the East India Company to Imperial rule of the powers and patronage hitherto exercised by that great trading corporation. It had done its work, with not a few mistakes, and with instances of what must be regarded as crimes. Yet it had called into being a mighty empire, embracing one-sixth of the earth's people, and it had trained a body of officials and administrators unparalleled in any age or country.

In April, 1876, the Queen was declared Empress of India by Act of Parliament. Supreme authority was vested in a Secretary of State. For the recognition of public services, the Order of the Star of India was instituted in 1861, and that of the Indian Empire, and another of the Imperial Crown of India, in 1878. A Royal Proclamation was issued, asserting an intended equitable

jurisdiction, with full religious freedom, and opening up to qualified natives posts of civil administration. The spirit of the promise has to be embodied in actual fact. The railway system has since been largely extended, trunk roads constructed, and provision made for irrigation and for water storage; although much remains to be done to prevent periodical famines, fatal to so many millions of the poor, to develop the natural resources of the gigantic continent, to elevate its teeming population, and to qualify them for the duties of citizenship. The first National Indian Congress was held in Bombay, in December, 1885, and a similar gathering has been convened annually in one of the great centres. An increasing number of Indian youths come to England for legal and scientific training. With the spread of education in India, however, it is observed that exposure of old superstitions leads many not only to abandon their native faith, but to discard religion of every kind; so that intellectual attainments of a high degree are too often accompanied by cynical agnosticism.

For the second time did the friendship of Palmerston for the nominal ruler of France occasion his defeat in the House of Commons. An attempt on the life of the Emperor Napoleon, in January, 1858, and the retreat of the intending assassins to England, led to the introduction of the Conspiracy to Murder Bill. It was rejected on the second reading, from a suspicion that it pandered to a foreign power, and because it implied a denial of the right of asylum and of the sufficiency of the existing law. Another Derby Ministry followed, but was defeated in April, 1859, on a scheme of Parliamentary Reform. An appeal to the country confirmed this, and Palmerston resumed his old position as Premier until his death, October 18, 1865; staving off the inconvenient subject of Reform by the usual cry about the defenceless state of the country. He contrived, amidst the mutations of Cabinets, to retain office during forty-six out of the fifty-eight years he sat in Parliament. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gladstone proposed in 1860 further relief from indirect taxation, leaving only 48 articles subject to Customs' duties, against 419 in his previous Budget. An attempt to abolish the Paper Duties, which Carlyle

described in his cynical fashion as "Satan's Invisible World Displayed," led to a conflict with the House of Lords. Technically, they were within their right, as it was not, strictly speaking, a Money Bill. The project was dropped for the time, under protest; but in 1861 the repeal of the Paper Duties was included in a general financial measure, which the Lords were constrained to accept. A similar dispute occurred in 1871 over the Army Regulation scheme, and especially on the abolition of the purchase of commissions, which was rejected by the Lords; whereupon the Cabinet advised the abolition by Royal Warrant, which was done, at a cost of nearly £8,000,000 for compensation. The same year brought the opportunity of revenge to the Lords, who threw out the Ballot Bill; but it was carried in the following Session, with certain restrictions.

The outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 between the Northern and Southern States of America, on the old and vexed question of slavery, occasioned much commercial loss and suffering to England, especially in Lancashire, through the failure of the cotton supply. For nearly four years most of the mills were closed, and tens of thousands of industrious operatives were thrown out of employment. Yet they never complained; knowing the real cause of the terrible conflict, and sympathizing in the ultimate object of the emancipation of six millions of slaves. The upper classes and nearly all the leading newspapers supported the view put forth by the Southern States, that they were fighting for freedom to rule themselves; which derived force and colour from the emphatic statements of President Lincoln and Secretary Seward, that no intention existed on the part of the North to interfere with the question of slavery, but that the war was being waged to maintain the Union and to put down rebellion. If Lincoln, instead of waiting until the first day of 1863 before issuing his Emancipation Proclamation, with its unfortunate and mistaken corollary of the franchise, had assumed at the outset the unmistakable position to which he was driven in the course of time by the exigencies of war and the difficulties of his task, much misapprehension, jealousy, and ill-feeling towards England would have been avoided. The

contest waged until April, 1865, entailing a loss on both sides of 750,000 lives and an incalculable amount of property. The Confederacy, worn out and exhausted, having by conscription drawn old men and boys, thus robbing the cradle and the grave, and having used every available resource, was compelled to yield and disband. After the lapse of a generation, the disputes and animosities engendered have abated. All parties have learned to accept the inevitable, and to recognise the motives and the valour of antagonists. Among the wealth of literature evoked since the Civil War, special reference may be made to the able work on 'The Southern States of the American Union,' by the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, LL.D., of Washington, D.C., formerly United States Minister to Spain, and now the Administrator of the Peabody and the Slater Funds for Education in the South. For comprehensive, judicious, and statesmanlike treatment of a difficult subject, the book is unique, and deserves unqualified praise.

Twice only, in the early days of the struggle, did it appear that England must be involved. An American ship waylaid the British mail-steamer "Trent," and forcibly seized two Confederate envoys on their way to Europe in November, 1861. For a few weeks war trembled in the balance; but the sense of justice and the good feeling of the Cabinet at Washington prevailed over popular clamour, and Messrs. Mason and Slidell were surrendered on the demand of the British Government. In spite of a Proclamation of neutrality, constant attempts were made by Englishmen to run the blockade of the Southern ports for the sake of enormous possible gains, and munitions and ships of war were also supplied. The worst case was that of the "Alabama" cruiser, illegally built and fitted at Birkenhead in July, 1862, for the Southern Confederacy. The ship put to sea under a false name and without a clearance, owing to the culpable delay of the law officers of the Crown, to the hesitancy of the Foreign Secretary, Lord John Russell, and to the bungling, the timidity, or the complicity of other officials, who knew the designed purpose; which was notorious, both in England and America. Great damage was inflicted by the corsair upon the shipping of the United

States, until it was attacked and destroyed by the "Kearsage," off Cherbourg, in June, 1864. The claims made upon England at the close of the war, for damages committed by the "Alabama" and by two other English-built pirates, were referred to a Joint Commission of the two countries which met at Washington in February, 1871. The whole matter was ably argued on both sides, with the counter-claims of England for injuries suffered by the people of Canada in recent Fenian raids; which, however, were not pressed. The chief difficulty arose over indirect and undefined claims made by the United States, which seem likely to reach an appalling amount. Under a Treaty agreed to by the Commission, and ratified by Parliament and by Congress, a body of arbitrators assembled in Geneva on June 15, 1872. Chief Justice Sir Alexander Cockburn represented England, and Mr. Charles Francis Adams the United States, with nominees from Italy, Switzerland, and Brazil. The case was fully argued by eminent legal and diplomatic agents on behalf of the two countries. The arbitrators absolutely rejected the Indirect Claims, as untenable. Thirty-two meetings were held, and an award was given on September 24; Sir Alexander Cockburn dissenting on certain points. A sum of £3,200,000 was paid to the United States in satisfaction of all claims, which were afterwards found to fall considerably short of the amount; but the balance was not returned to England. Another result of the Treaty of Washington was the appointment of a Mixed Commission to settle for ten years, with power of renewal, disputes as to the Canadian coast-fisheries.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

CABINET MUTATIONS.

A.D. 1866–1895.

THE usual course with Cabinets of recent years has been one of unpopularity and decay, proportioned to their duration, and to their strength at the outset. The

political opinions, or prejudices, of many persons are in a state of flux, and they temporarily attach themselves to one party or the other, as impulse, or self-interest, or accident, may prompt. They constitute the unknown quantity that determines a General Election. After a time, when it is found that trade does not improve, or that the seasons are unpropitious, or that some heroic but impracticable policy is not adopted, or that universal happiness and halcyon contentment are not inaugurated, or that vague expectations of legislative legerdemain are not realised, a feeling of ignorant surprise induces disappointment that leads to anger and opposition. The accident of a few seats being lost to the Government of the day at bye-elections, probably on a local issue, or on a clever but false cry, creates a revulsion under which the timid, the uninformed, the unprincipled, and the treacherous change sides. Every trade, official, or class interest which thinks itself aggrieved, or that better terms can be made with the opposite party, has a strong inducement to go over. Advocates and propagandists of social crotchets that find so much favour with a narrow and parochial order of minds, unable to look at events in perspective, and devoid of all sense of proportion and harmony, always have a warmer welcome from the Opposition than from the party in power, because the latter are conscious of responsibility, and know the practical difficulties in the way of legislation. When the occupants of the official benches are changed, an analogous process is gone through. Political promissory notes, given with ready facility for the sake of securing office, cannot be met when they fall due. This has been the case with some of the strongest Administrations of recent years. On the death of Palmerston, Russell again became Premier, but resigned June 26, 1866, on a defeat of his Reform Bill. The Earl of Derby followed, but retired through ill-health, February 25, 1868, when Disraeli reconstructed the Cabinet. It was overthrown the same year on the Irish Church question.

Another notable instance of sudden and startling popular revulsion is furnished in the case of the Gladstone Ministry, which terminated in February, 1874. It had assumed office, five years previously, with a zest, a

promise, and a programme that carried all before it. A little rift within the lute, caused by the estrangement of Nonconformists, through what they regarded as the inequalities of the Education Act of 1870, and what were deemed its unfair concessions to the clergy, widened as time went on. Residents in the rural districts, who knew how it was possible to evade or override the most stringent Conscience Clauses, uttered words of warning, but all in vain. A few sagacious minds discerned the approaching religious difficulty, but they were scouted as false prophets. Even some whose utterances claimed to be oracular, and who were regarded as leaders and guides among the Free Churches, went astray upon this matter; compelling an alteration in the Government policy. Instead of settling the vexed question in a bold, decisive, and statesmanlike manner, it was timidly remitted to every borough and parish to deal with it as they best could, with the result that, on many School Boards, all the virulence of contending factions was called forth. The scheme was lauded by its authors as a paragon of statesmanship, and, compared with the halting methods of former years, it was a decided improvement. W. E. Forster (1818–1886), the Vice-President of the Council, who had charge of the measure in the House of Commons, failed to seize the occasion for establishing a thoroughly national system under efficient local control, in his desire to effect a compromise and to placate the clergy by protecting their Voluntary Schools.

As in former instances, Dissenters had themselves to thank for the results. With a few noble exceptions, they were apathetic, narrow, and prejudiced. They failed to perceive the bearings of the question in Ireland, where Roman Catholics preponderate. They were deluded by hollow party cries, they lacked understanding of the times, and they sacrificed the immediate future of England to a mere fetich. When they awoke from their dream, it was angrily alleged that Forster had betrayed his party and had abandoned his Quaker principles. Complaint was also made that he had suffered himself to be hoodwinked by a plausible scheme of cumulative voting, whereby a few sectional minorities can capture

the School Boards. The Nonconformist revolt was widespread, and it doomed the Gladstone Ministry to defeat at the next General Election, with other causes mentioned below. Several amendments had to be introduced ere long, and the measure for assisted education, in 1891, relieving parents from the payment of fees, still left much to be done in order to secure a really national system. It is, unhappily, too true of almost every order of religionists, that though they profess to love education, they love controversy, and they covet control and predominance, still more.

New Regulations for the Army, and clumsy devices for licensing public-houses, aroused the antagonism of threatened vested interests. The latter measure was peculiarly unfortunate. It alienated the Temperance party, who thought it did not go far enough, and it irritated the brewers, the distillers, and the publicans, because it went too far. Farmers, the Civil Service, workmen in the dockyards and arsenals, soldiers, sailors, the police, and other sections who subsist upon the public purse, and who are always ready to agitate for increased pay and pensions, had their own grievances, real or imaginary. Moreover, what was regarded as Gladstone's restless activity was viewed with alarm by the quiet, the contented, and the stolid, who form a large part of every community. Some members of the Cabinet had contrived, with needless persistency, to render themselves unpopular; chief among them being Robert Lowe, afterwards Viscount Sherbrooke, a returned Australian, of great ability, but of no tact, whose Liberalism was of a mild and colourless type. As Chancellor of the Exchequer he was credited, perhaps unfairly, with the addition of twopence to the Income Tax, and with the clever trick of extorting payment of five quarters in one year. The breeches-pocket argument is most powerful, and the average taxpayer is always ready to complain. Suddenly, like a bolt from the blue, Gladstone announced a General Election, in a manifesto to his constituents at Greenwich, on January 23, 1874. It was one of the grave tactical mistakes which the most illustrious statesman of this century has been in the habit of committing. The immediate occasion for his political *coup d'état* was the

defeat of his scheme for higher education in Ireland. He held out a distinct bribe, that, if his majority were restored, he would repeal the Income Tax and diminish the local rates by a grant-in-aid. Such a bid for office cannot be vindicated. The result showed how serious was the blunder. An utter rout shattered his party, when the country rallied from its speechless surprise at the sudden dissolution of a Parliament which, among other things, had disestablished the Irish Church, grappled with the Irish land question, provided a scheme of Elementary Education, rescued the remaining Endowed Grammar Schools from extinction, opened the Universities, abolished Army purchase, and secured the Ballot.

Disraeli replied at once in an address to the electors of Bucks, cleverly seizing upon the weaknesses in the armour of his opponent. Within a month it was known that the Liberals were in a hopeless minority, their number, including the Irish members, being 300, against 352 Conservatives. Gladstone himself was returned second on the poll for Greenwich; which then had two members. Following a precedent set by his great rival, he instantly resigned. He also withdrew from the post of Liberal leader, on the plea of age and health, until called forth from his retirement by the ferment in the ecclesiastical world, and by the indignation aroused at the atrocities in Bulgaria. The Marquis of Hartington became the titular head of the party. The Disraeli Ministry was formed February 20, 1874, and continued, with various changes and fluctuations, until April 21, 1880. Besides the Montenegrin and Bulgarian troubles, and new phases of old difficulties with Ireland, foreign events included the cession of the Fiji islands to England; the temporary annexation of the Transvaal; one of the terrible chronic famines in Bengal; a Reciprocity Treaty between Canada and the United States; intervention in Egypt and the control of its finances on behalf of English and French bondholders; wars in Ashanti and in Zululand; another invasion of Afghanistan, and the acquisition of Cyprus. The principal home events were the marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh to the daughter of the Czar of Russia; the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, at a cost of £140,000; the appointment of a Royal

Commission on Agriculture; attempts to legislate on the Ritual controversy in the Church; a great strike of agricultural labourers; and Acts for consolidating and amending the Labour Laws. One important measure was the Judicature Act of 1875, which united the existing Courts of Law into one Supreme Court, with two divisions. Law and equity were fused, at least in theory. An elaborate code of rules and regulations, constantly changing, was prepared by the judges, in accordance with an objectionable modern practice that has insidiously crept into every branch of the public service, whereby members of the Bench and permanent officials, under pretence of interpreting the law, take upon themselves to amplify and adapt its provisions. With the object of providing facilities for the cheap and easy recovery of small debts, County Courts were established in 1846. Additional duties have since been imposed, and the limits of plaints are largely extended.

The Disraeli or Beaconsfield Ministry—the Premier having been called to the Upper House, as an Earl—exhibited signs of decadence during its later period, similar to those which had marked its predecessor. An aggressive foreign policy, a swollen expenditure, and the alleged neglect of urgent home affairs were seized upon by opponents; especially by Mr. Gladstone, in his Mid-Lothian Campaign of November, 1879, which resulted in his winning that seat at the General Election in March, 1880. The political pendulum swung back with powerful momentum in favour of the Liberals; their majority, including 60 Irish Home Rulers, being 180. Beaconsfield at once resigned. He did not long survive the defeat; dying April 19, 1881. An immediate difficulty of the gravest kind confronted the second Gladstone Cabinet. One of the periodical failures of crops had occurred in Ireland. The distress and the disquietude were aggravated by the growth of a sentiment for Home Rule, with a Parliament in Dublin, and by the action of an organized body of members pledged to support it. Under the astute leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell (1846–1891), who had supplanted Isaac Butt by tactics of a different order, they had strenuously opposed a Relief of Distress Bill introduced by the outgoing Ministry, on the ground

that it was framed in the interests of the landlords. They now resisted other measures, on the same ground, and in revenge for the Lords having thrown out a Bill that proposed to give to evicted tenants compensation for disturbance. The Irish Land League, formed in 1879 by Michael Davitt, was in active operation, and an anti-rent agitation was carried on. There were renewed outbreaks, to repress which additional troops were sent over before the close of 1880. It was commonly said that in wide districts of Ireland the Queen's Writ did not run.

The Session of 1881 was occupied almost entirely with another Land Bill. Winter brought fresh anxieties; for the country seemed on the verge of anarchy. Further coercive measures were divised to suppress agrarian outrages, in accordance with Gladstone's boast at the Lord Mayor's banquet that the resources of civilization were not exhausted. Hundreds of persons, including Parnell and his principal colleagues in the House, were arrested and kept in prison for seven months without trial. When Parliament met, early in 1882, the Irish representatives perfected their obstructive policy, avowedly to frustrate legislation. There were frequent divisions; talking against time; all-night sittings; incessant heckling of Ministers; angry interruptions of speakers; vulgar personalities, and repeated expulsions of offending members. However irritating and unseemly, there was method in all this madness, with which new Rules of Procedure seemed powerless to cope. It was declared that until Irish claims were conceded nothing else should be done, but aid would be accepted from any political party, as was shown by a secret compact with the Conservatives prior to the Election of 1885. Mr. W. E. Forster had undertaken the arduous and thankless post of Chief Secretary, and upon him broke the fiercest storms. In the end, with the best intentions, the Herculean task proved too great; as it would have been for any man. He urged his colleagues to adopt still more coercive measures, and he resigned on their refusal. He was succeeded by Lord Frederick Cavendish, who was assassinated in Phœnix Park, Dublin, within twelve hours of his first visit, on May 6, 1882. The attack was generally believed to have been directed against his

companion, Mr. Burke, the Permanent Secretary, who was also killed.

These cold-blooded murders sent a thrill of horror throughout the country, and aroused a revulsion and a prejudice from which Ireland suffered for years. The immediate effect was the introduction of the Prevention of Crimes Bill, which was carried after stormy scenes extending over two months. Consentaneously, there were further attempts to cope with the agrarian difficulty by an Arrears Bill, limited to holdings under £30 by Griffiths' valuation, and to tenants whose rent had been paid to November, 1881. An attempt by Parnell to amend the Irish Land Act was defeated, and in 1884 the Land League was revived under the name of the National League. The Gladstone Cabinet resigned in June, 1885, owing to an adverse vote on the Budget, after one or two narrow escapes in critical divisions on other subjects. Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister; but at the General Election in November his party obtained only 252 seats, whereas the Liberals had 332, and the Irish party was increased to 86. When Parliament met in January, an amendment to the Address was carried, on the motion of Jesse Collings, M.P., expressing regret that the Queen's speech contained no allusion to the subject of allotments and small holdings. Lord Salisbury thereupon resigned, and Gladstone was reinstated. His Cabinet included John Morley as Irish Secretary. By precedent, the allotment question should have been dealt with at once; and its omission aroused strong feeling among the agricultural labourers.

Mr. Gladstone introduced two great measures, giving Home Rule to Ireland, and propounding what was designed to be a final settlement of the Land question. Great Britain, however, was not prepared for such heroic methods. The remembrance of recent events was too strong, and the apprehension of further trouble was too keen. The Land Bill was never discussed in Parliament on its merits; but a widespread fear existed that English taxpayers would have to find from £50,000,000 to £150,000,000 to buy out the landlords. Gladstone asserted that the measure contained adequate safeguards against such a contingency, but he failed to

carry the whole of the Liberal party with him, and this led to an irreparable breach. The second reading of the Home Rule Bill was defeated in the Commons by 343 to 313. Among the majority were 93 Liberals. Thereupon, he decided to appeal to the country, although only seven months had elapsed since the Election. The response, in July, condemned his policy. The Conservatives secured 316 seats; the Dissentient Liberals, agreeing with them on the Irish question, 77; and the Gladstonians, including their Irish supporters, only 277. Lord Salisbury again became Premier, and entered on a course of what he defined as "resolute government." Mr. Arthur J. Balfour, as Irish Secretary, introduced into the House of Commons, March 28, 1887, what was known as the Crimes Bill. It was rapidly forced through all its stages. Great assistance was rendered by the opportune publication in 'The Times' of a series of articles entitled 'Parnellism and Crime.' One of them gave what purported to be a fac-simile of an autograph letter from the Irish leader at the time of the Cavendish and Burke murders, expressing approval of the deed, so far as concerned the latter. Parnell instantly declared the letter a forgery. After much delay and angry recrimination, a Special Commission of three judges was appointed in 1889. The proceedings began in October, and continued for four months, when a miserable creature on whose testimony the chief reliance was placed, suddenly disappeared, and shot himself at Madrid; leaving a written confession that he had forged documents, and sold them to 'The Times.' This part of the case was, therefore, abandoned, and the inquiry was directed to the working of the Land and the National Leagues and other organizations. Hundreds of witnesses were examined. Long and able speeches were made by counsel. The Report of the Commission appeared in 1891, dismissing the more serious charges and allegations, or holding them not proven; but the accused were held, in various degrees, to have sought the independence of Ireland, to have promoted an agrarian conspiracy against rent, circulated newspapers tending to sedition and other crimes, incited to intimidation, and made payments to compensate persons injured in the commission of crime

Long before the end of the trial, public interest had abated, as had been the case with Warren Hastings.

The proceedings were complicated by a grave personal matter. The able leader of the Irish party was cast in heavy damages in a divorce trial. Stormy scenes ensued at meetings of his adherents; two-thirds of whom chose Justin M'Carthy, M.P., as leader, and renounced Parnell. Within twelve months the country was startled by his sudden death. The funeral, in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin, was attended by a concourse, and evoked a scene of excitement, such as had not been witnessed since the interment of Daniel O'Connell. Another notable man passed away within a few hours, in Mr. W. H. Smith, First Lord of the Treasury, and Leader of the House. The Crimes Act had been enforced in a manner that led to much heated controversy. A General Election, in July, 1892, gave the Government only 315 supporters, against 355 Liberals and Irish. With the advent of another Gladstone Ministry, a further attempt was made in February, 1893, to deal with the thorny question of Home Rule. The Premier introduced a Bill, and its discussion occupied the whole of the Session, until the first of September, when the third reading was carried, after the closure, by a majority of 34 in a House of 568; nearly the whole of the absent members being paired. A week later, the Lords rejected the Bill by 419 to 41 votes. The principal Legislative achievement was the creation of District and Parish Councils; a complement to the County Council Act of 1888. Early in 1894, on the grounds of failing sight and advanced age, Mr. Gladstone retired from the Premiership, and the Cabinet was reconstituted under Lord Rosebery. Its tenure was insecure, owing to its small majority in the Commons, and, on a snatch division, June 21, 1895, there was an adverse majority of 132 to 125, on a question as to the sufficiency of cordite in store. The Ministry appeared to welcome this as a convenient opportunity for escaping from an irksome position, which was said by the Premier to be aggravated by party differences. They regarded the vote as an expression of want of confidence, and resigned the next day. Lord Salisbury was once more entrusted with the task of forming a Cabinet. An appeal

was made to the country in July. Lord Rosebery gave as a battle-cry the reform of the House of Lords. Sir William Harcourt chose to ignore this, and declared that he would stand or fall by the Local Veto Bill which he had introduced. He speedily fell, and that ignominously; being rejected at Derby, with his colleague. The result of the Election was the return of 411 adherents of the Government, including 72 Liberal Unionists. The Liberals numbered only 177, the Nationalists 71, and the Parnellites 11; making, in all, 259.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

A.D. 1895.

THE above occurrences are too recent to be dealt with fully; having regard to due perspective. Moreover, it is superfluous to narrate circumstantially the course of the long and gracious reign of Queen Victoria, excepting in so far as concerns the crises already described. The record is accessible in such works as Washington Wilks' 'History of the Half-Century'; in the one on the century by Robert Mackenzie; in Justin M'Carthy's 'History of Our Own Time'; in Thomas Humphry Ward's 'Reign of Victoria'; in Joseph Irving's 'Annals of Our Own Time'; in P. W. Clayden's 'England under the Coalition,' and 'Under Lord Beaconsfield'; in W. H. Lucy's 'Diary of Two Parliaments'; and in successive volumes of the 'Annual Register.' Gneist, in his 'History of English Parliaments,' forecasts with much sagacity and skill future political and social movements, as does C. H. Pearson, in 'National Life and Character.' Whatever may be thought of these horoscopes, it may be said, speaking generally, that a great change for the better has been effected within living memory in the legislative and executive departments. Prior to the Reform Act of 1832, laws were enacted mainly for the advantage of the few at the expense of the many, and for the protection of what

are called the rights of property, regardless of life and freedom. Only by slow degrees, and as the result of persistent effort, are justice and humanity able to triumph over selfishness, ignorance, and oppression. Not before 1839 were dogs forbidden to draw loaded carts. Three years later, an Act prohibited boys being made to climb chimneys for cleaning. So late as 1843, women and girls, dressed like men, and equally coarse in speech and manners, were harnessed to trucks in coal-mines, and little children sat for weary hours in the darkness, half-dead with exhaustion, pulling the cord that opened the doors for the passage of the trucks along the damp galleries. In more recent times, the condition of females in the nail and chain-making districts was a scandal.

Various measures tending in the direction of justice and freedom have been incidentally mentioned in previous pages. Disabilities to trade, to obtaining education, to filling public offices, to the discharge of civil rights, and to the full enjoyment of citizen privileges, because of diversity of opinions on matters of speculative religion, are no longer upheld in theory, though they have not wholly disappeared in practice. Concessions, reforms, and improvements are attributable to widening intelligence, to a keener sense of justice, to the growth of popular power, and to the way in which public sentiment has been brought to bear on the Legislature. Its action since 1880 has effected some salutary changes. By the Ground Game Act, farmers are permitted, under certain restrictions, to destroy hares and rabbits. The Corrupt Practices Act of 1883 and 1895 provide partial remedies for scandals long prevalent at Elections. Increased encouragement to thrift is furnished by means of the Post Office. Miscellaneous Statutes deal with infant mortality, the adulteration of food and drink, the pollution of rivers, cruelty to animals, the property of married women, international copyright, trade-marks, agricultural holdings, tithes, the Scottish Universities, the housing of the poor, allotments, contagious and infectious diseases, and clergy discipline.

Prior to 1840, legislation tended to cheapen the cost and to facilitate the consumption of ardent spirits ; but, with an exception to be noticed immediately, an opposite

policy has since been pursued. Whereas, in 1742, over two gallons of spirits per head were consumed, the quantity now is slightly under one gallon. Self-imposed taxation, in the shape of intoxicating drinks and tobacco, is still far too large, amounting, for duty alone, to nearly £45,000,000 annually, or 25s. per capita. More than half the actual taxation of the country is derived from this source: a state of things that cannot be satisfactory to the moralist, or the patriot, or the social reformer. If the cost of production and of distribution be added, the amount is nearly five times as much, while the resulting pauperism and crime enormously enhance the loss. In 1880, Gladstone abolished the Malt Tax, substituting for it a duty on beer. Twenty years previously, when negotiating, through Richard Cobden, a Commercial Treaty with France, he initiated a system of grocers' licenses, whereby not only claret and light wines are procurable in single bottles at thousands of shops all over the country, but also other wines, with beer and spirits. Against all this must be placed the fact that wholesome tea is obtainable at one-fourth of the price that ruled when the tax was almost prohibitory. The amount consumed is now five pounds and a half per head per annum. Similar reductions in fiscal charges on coffee, cocoa, currants, sugar, and other articles in daily use, and the entire abolition of duties in many cases, have had the effect of giving an impetus to trade, and adding to the comfort of the mass of consumers.

The continuous increase of expenditure, both imperial and local, cannot fail to be remarked. Much of the former is attributable to professional panics got up periodically over the alleged defenceless condition of the country, in spite of the enormous outlay every year; to the rivalry between makers of rifled cannon and of armour-plates; to costly scientific experiments at the public charge; to perpetual changes in weapons of precision, and to repeated reconstructions of the Navy. Not a little, also, is due to the tendency of the municipal or parochial mind to widen the sphere of government; to the growing disposition to inspect and control everybody and everything; and to the ceaseless requirements in every branch of the public service. All this means an

additional burden upon the industry, the resources, and the comforts of the nation, and the withdrawal from productive employment of many thousands who have to be supported by the working portion of the community. The amount of the Funded Debt, most of which is the legacy of wasteful and profligate war expenditure, is £586,015,919, according to the last Return; and that of the Unfunded Debt, £17,400,300. The capital value of Terminable Annuities and other items brings up the public liabilities to £660,100,607, the annual charges and expenses thereon being £25,000,000. The Finance Accounts for the year that ended March 31, 1895, showed a total outlay for all purposes of £94,728,420, omitting cross-entries and temporary loans and advances received and repaid. The Army and Navy absorbed £35,445,000, and the Civil List and Civil Service, which are continually increasing, and are insatiable in their demands, £31,831,000. A similar state of things obtains in the affairs of local self-government, the cost of which has more than doubled within a decade, and amounts to eighty-two millions annually. Local debts have swollen to £240,000,000; London alone owing £38,500,000, or four millions beyond its rateable value. The indebtedness is largely incurred in the erection of workhouses, infirmaries, infectious hospitals, district and elementary schools, pauper lunatic asylums, and other buildings; an outlay that is often insisted upon by the Local Government Board. The Board of Trade, the Home Office, the Education Department, and the Board of Agriculture also exercise a rigid and an excessive control, from which there is virtually no appeal. They have as many eyes as Argus, and as many hands as Briareus.

Against a system of Government by Chief Clerks incessant vigilance and stern protests are required, for it is a perpetuation, in another form, of the tyranny exerted in olden times by the King's Council, and of the incessant interference of the State in the Middle Ages. The modern tendency is vastly to increase the number of inspectors, clerks, and other officials; to create new administrative Frankensteins; and to think that legislation is a kind of Prospero's wand, if not an overruling Providence. England has no desire to be reduced to the

police pattern of France or of Germany, where the most ordinary functions of life are prescribed and controlled. The true functions of Government are negative, rather than positive. Johnson's closing lines, added to Goldsmith's 'Traveller,' express an abiding truth :—"How small, of all that human hearts endure, that part which laws or kings can cause or cure." Many excellent persons, forgetful or ignorant of the failure of the Protective Spirit, of Sumptuary Laws, and of the Statutes of Labourers, but moved by a vague feeling of compassion for the poor, and by zeal, without knowledge, to redress social wrongs, advocate a policy, urge the adoption of methods, and seek the attainment of aims which are simply impossible while human nature endures. If all men and women were industrious, honest, sober, thrifty, and subject to wise self-control and to courteous consideration for others, it might be possible, with the general consent, to effect great changes in social conditions that would be for the common good ; but it is impossible to move in advance of public opinion and conviction. Actual circumstances and individual tastes will not bend to any theory, however ideally perfect.

Formerly, the waste by war and by disease exceeded sometimes the normal birth-rate. So far as any data exist, it is probable that England had not more than two and a half millions of people from the time of Edward I. to Elizabeth's. At the end of the seventeenth century the estimate gives five and a half millions. In 1801, there were said to be not quite nine ; but the Census was carelessly taken. That of the United Kingdom — Ireland being estimated at five millions—gave a total of 15,942,646. In 1891, the returns were 29,374,576, for England and Wales, including the small islands, and soldiers and sailors abroad ; 4,704,750 for Ireland ; and 4,025,647 for Scotland ; making 38,104,973 in all, or an increase of 8·1 per cent. in the decade. London proper had 4,211,056 ; or, with the suburban districts, 5,633,332. The growth is more extraordinary with the English-speaking race throughout the world. Emigration to almost every quarter of the globe—the average for the last ten years being 260,000—with the expansion of the United States, has multiplied the race to nearly

150,000,000. The Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Roman, and Gothic waves of conquest or of colonization are not comparable to this for extent or for abiding results. The British Empire, with its Indian and Colonial possessions, embraces an area of more than nine millions of square miles; having a population, including natives, of 351,000,000, a revenue of £237,000,000, and Imports and Exports valued in the whole at £1,154,900,000.

By the year 1843, £65,000,000 had been expended on railways in the United Kingdom; but the amount in 1894 was £985,387,355, besides £14,112,573 invested in tramways. At the former period, the traffic receipts were less than four millions; and at the latter, they were £84,310,831. As the working expenses—more than one-half of the amount—consist chiefly of wages, and of commodities raised or produced by labour, the sum annually divided among wage-earners represents a vastly improved condition. The wealth of the upper and middle classes has increased with varying rates of progression during the last thirty years; Ireland, however, being almost stationary. The amount assessed for property and incomes of all kinds was £700,130,875, by the last Return. Probate and Succession Duty was paid on £211,338,000. The social condition of the artisan and labouring classes has been greatly ameliorated by the cheapness of food, clothing, tools, and fuel, by such recent discoveries as petroleum for lighting, by the provision of public museums, galleries, parks, libraries, baths and washhouses, and by free education for their children. The marvellous development is farther attested by improved systems of water supply and of drainage, by healthier dwellings, by good roads and swift and cheap travelling, by postal and telegraphic facilities, by cheap daily and weekly newspapers, with information gathered from every part of the world, by successful attacks upon zymotic diseases and a diminished death-rate, by new methods of life-assurance and of providing for risks of all kinds. New conditions of production and of distribution have arisen with improvements in machinery, with the extension of railroads, with the substitution of steam-vessels for sailing ships, with such great works as the

construction of the Manchester Ship Canal, with the improvements of Bessemer and Siemens in the making of steel, with the opening up of Japan, of China, of Australia, and of Africa to commerce, with fresh applications of electricity and the widening area of the telegraph system, with the utilization of what was formerly regarded as waste, and with the wise conservation of force and the nice adjustment of processes. Lighthouses, lightships, and harbours of refuge around the coast have received much attention, and a large annual outlay is expended upon them; although the wreck charts still present melancholy records of vessels lost, of lives sacrificed, and of property destroyed.

The amount standing to the credit of depositors in Savings Banks is £125,393,886, in addition to upwards of eight millions in Government Stock. Building Societies hold £51,538,691; Industrial and Coöperative Societies, £18,041,051; Insurance Companies of all kinds have £12,161,449 of paid-up capital, and £194,175,429 of life and annuity funds in hand. The value of Imports into the United Kingdom during 1894 was £408,344,810, and that of the Exports £273,785,867, or £10 10s. 7d. and £5 11s. 3d. respectively per head of the population. In the same year 21,206 vessels, with a tonnage of 8,956,181, and navigated by 240,458 men and boys, were registered as belonging to the various ports of the British Empire. The acreage under crop or fallow, out of a total in the United Kingdom of 77,477,986, was 45,791,780; more than one-half being permanent pasture, besides three millions of acres of wood and coppice, and probably an equal quantity for orchards, nurseries, and market-gardens. The live-stock numbered 2,083,952 horses, 10,749,307 cattle, 29,966,752 sheep, and 3,779,336 pigs. All these figures are approximate, no means existing for the enumeration of animals kept in towns and by cottagers. Some of the figures show a considerable falling off, when compared with former years. Wheat, also, cannot now be grown at a cost to allow of successful competition with India and elsewhere.

The quantities and the value of minerals raised during 1894 were as follows: coal, 181,277,525 tons, estimated

at £62,729,759 in value at the place of production, and pig-iron, 7,427,342 tons, and £17,082,887. There were 7190 textile factories subject to the Factories and Workshops Acts, having 822,489 power-looms and 53,641,060 spindles, and employing 1,084,531 persons, two-thirds being females. Through the Post Office, 1,771,000,000 letters were delivered in the year, besides 700,500,000 newspapers, circulars, and book-packets, 312,750,000 post-cards, and 56,668,101 parcels weighing 65,269 tons. Seventy-one millions of telegraphic messages were transmitted, and 176,179 money-orders and 59,773,568 postal orders were issued, to the value of £47,451,035. The gross receipts of the Post Office departments were £15,167,257, and, after payment of all expenses, a sum of three millions was handed over to the Exchequer as net profits. The persons employed, with those in the Civil Service generally, the Army and Navy, the Police, and in local administration, and a crowd of pensioners of all kinds, exceed 700,000, and the number is continually growing. Thirty-one thousand elementary schools, with an average attendance of 5,118,823, cost £17,558,083 in Parliamentary grants and out of the rates, besides a million more from endowments and voluntary gifts.

Social manners and conditions exhibit marked improvement. Crime has diminished, in an inverse ratio to the population, owing to increased vigilance, to the spread of education, and to the influence of moral and religious teaching. According to the last Returns, 35,087 persons were charged with indictable offences in the United Kingdom, and over a million were tried summarily, including petty thefts and trivial offences of all kinds. The average number of convicts and prisoners under detention at one time was 23,000. Methods of detention and punishment, though open to further improvement, especially by means of visits of suitable persons to long-term inmates of prisons, are far superior to those formerly prevailing. But debtors are still popularly regarded, and are treated by the law, as if they were criminals, without proper discrimination being made between misfortune and recklessness, as is also the case with the pauper-roll. Though considerably

lessened, it is far too long ; no fewer than 1,015,510 being found upon it, either as inmates of workhouses, or as recipients of out-door relief, on january 1, 1895, being one in 38·5 of the population, and at a cost of £11,325,444 for the year. Soldiers, sailors, miners, lunatics, and dumb animals are treated with more consideration than formerly. The abolition of the old Law of Settlement, the repeal of the Navigation Laws and of the Corn Laws, the abrogation of a narrow commercial system, the spread of elementary and technical education, the increase of asylums, hospitals, and dispensaries, the discovery of anæsthetics, the public sentiment against duelling and slavery, and against the flogging of women and soldiers, are among the signs of amelioration and progress.

In like manner, a gentleman considers it indecorous to be inebriated, or to indulge in coarse language or in senseless profanity. Brutal and cruel sports are discouraged. The tone of general literature has been raised, especially in that furnished for popular reading, and in the department of criticism. Political life has lost much of its acerbity. Amenities introduced into the relations of ecclesiastical bodies encourage the hope of further improvement. It needs to be reiterated that the nation is greater than any party ; that the Church is wider than any sect ; and that the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount and the practice of the Royal Law of Love are nobler, purer, and more effectual than the most correct of human creeds or the most æsthetic forms of worship. The spirit of the age is opposed to all legalized monopolies. Trade and navigation have long since outgrown the swaddling-bands in which arbitrary rulers, foolish legislators, and grasping monopolists sought to restrain them. Sumptuary laws for diet and apparel have been ridiculed out of existence. Many lucrative sinecures, created for the benefit of a favoured few, have been abolished. The occupants of all offices, in State or Church, must abide the test of a rigid Utilitarianism ; the modern form of Wycliffe's favourite doctrine of Dominion founded in Grace. Privileges formerly attaching to the accident of birth, to a dubious royal or aristocratic descent, to official positions, to the chance ownership of land, and to adventitious wealth, are challenged to vindicate their

continued existence on the grounds of abstract justice or of rigid necessity. Law and medicine still maintain the exclusiveness of trade unions, and a disposition is sometimes shown in other professions or trades to erect themselves into close preserves, as if the majority of mankind were foes to be resisted, or victims to be fleeced.

Among subjects of deep concern to the social economist, the philanthropist, and the patriot, are the growing expenses of administrative government; the waste and menace of vast armies; remaining inequalities of taxation; undue pressure upon agriculture, trade, and industry; the delay, uncertainty, expense, and frequent injustice of litigation; the costliness and tediousness of land transfer; the alarming growth of large cities, and the denudation of the rural districts, partly through the operation of effete land-laws, and partly as the result of changed economic and social conditions. Other disquieting matters are the constant assertion of the gambling spirit, with periodical outbreaks of mad speculation; a growing dislike of honest manual labour; a disposition to work as little as possible, during the fewest hours, and for the highest rate of pay that can be exacted; and the habit of regarding the Exchequer as a Fortunatus' purse, into which all may dip who know how to take advantage of the ignorance, the folly, or the fears of others. Such things present difficult problems that tax the most sagacious and patriotic to work out in a satisfactory manner. Much remains to be accomplished in raising the tone of commercial morality; in a righteous and wise crusade against intemperance, vice, idleness, unthrift, and crime; in dealing with habitual tramps and the Ishmaels of society; in a just and sympathetic treatment of pauperism; in care for thousands of neglected children; in rescuing from social wreckage human flotsam and jetsam that are alike a danger and a disgrace; and in fostering a spirit of morality, self-control, self-sacrifice, patriotism, and human brotherhood.

Moods of doubt and depression sometimes occur when the extent and the difficulties of social work appear to be overwhelming, and especially when it seems impossible to grapple with and to remedy existing evils. Ardent reformers are impatient, because the rate of

progress seems tardy. They forget the teachings of the Past, or fail to estimate the force of active opposition and of dogged resistance on the part of those who are interested in things remaining as they are. They do not understand how many others look on with unconcern, because a particular injustice or abuse does not touch them. Changes are slow to be effected in customs that have long prevailed, and have thereby acquired a prescriptive right that is sacred in the eyes of many. Without indulging in groundless optimism, it is proper to remember that existing conditions and possibilities are far superior to those which prevailed in former times. Brave and patriotic men and women nobly resisted wrong, and heroically struggled and hoped for brighter days. They did not live, or suffer, or work in vain. Their example is a stimulus and an encouragement.

The course of events traced in the preceding pages is marked by ebb and flow. Personal despotism; class autocracy; the insolence of office; military rule; Court intrigues; monopoly and interference with personal liberty, have been persistently opposed, with a varying measure of success, but always in the end, to the advancement of justice and freedom. There have been steady continuity and marked progress, in spite of occasional arrests and reverses. Goëthe says that humanity is always advancing; but in spiral lines. Briton, Roman, Saxon, Dane, Norman, Walloon, Dutch, and Huguenot have contributed to the formation of the national character. Ancient rights, laws, and usages, dating back prior to the Conquest, have been perpetuated and extended. Municipal privileges and trade customs have exerted a deep influence on public life. Political and ecclesiastical struggles, fiercely waged and long continued, have helped to consolidate national liberties. Under stress of circumstances, new systems and methods have slowly concreted in representative government, in Parliamentary forms, and in administrative and judicial procedure. Saxon love of liberty could not be repressed by Norman force. A fusion of races was effected. The English successfully defied their Angevin rulers, and wrung valuable concessions from the exigencies of Plantagenet kings. The growth of the middle class; rights

purchased by corporate towns ; the spread of trade and the increase of wealth, involved improved methods of legal administration. Disputes between monarchs and the baronage led to mutual exhaustion, and to a curtailment of the power of both ; to the advantage of the whole community, whose ancient rights and liberties were revived. Protracted contests between the State and the Church ended in the final assertion of nationality ; free from all foreign clerical domination.

With the rising power of Parliament a curb was placed on the throne, on the priesthood, on military license, on the Protective Spirit, and on every assumption of mere authority. Social upheavals in the time of Wycliffe ; the resistless operation of economic laws ; the growth and flexibility of the English language ; the revival of learning ; the mighty agency of the printing-press ; and the opening up of distant realms and of new continents, awakened a spirit of inquiry, inspired fresh hopes, and presented boundless possibilities. Tudor despotism was not able permanently to arrest the hands on the dial of progress. The Elizabethan age and the Commonwealth showed what heroic Englishmen were capable of undertaking and achieving ; and their lofty utterances and noble deeds can never be forgotten. Necessary protests and stern resistance by Puritans and Separatists against kingly and prelatical tyranny, and growing demands for mercantile, intellectual, and religious freedom, paved the way for the prolonged Stuart struggle ; which, after alternate successes and rebuffs, ended in the vindication of the men of the Commonwealth by the Revolution Settlement, as embodied in the Bill of Rights. The maintenance during dark and troublous days of the principles of liberty ; the steady advance, in spite of all resistance, along the line of progress ; the new era inaugurated by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, by Catholic Emancipation, by the Reform Bill of 1832, and by the long series of equitable measures of which they were the precursors, furnish those who love their country with an incentive to persevere, and awaken a confident expectation of ultimate victory for the cause of that freedom which springs out of righteousness.

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Copious details are also given under such general Headings as Commonwealth, England, Scotland, France, India, Ireland, Bible, Church, Clergy, Reformation, Puritans, Nonconformists, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Education, etc.

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